

The Americas in the Revolutionary Era

Part I

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After teaching for two years at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, Professor Eakin moved to Vanderbilt University, where he has taught since 1983. Since 2000, he has been chair of the Department of History. He has won numerous teaching awards at Vanderbilt, including the Jeffrey Nordhaus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, given annually by the College of Arts and Science; the Madison Sarratt Prize for Excellence in Teaching, given annually by the board of trust; and a chair of teaching excellence, also awarded by the board of trust. In 1999, Dr. Eakin was named the Carnegie Foundation/CASE Tennessee Professor of the Year.

Dr. Eakin has published three books, *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960* (1989), *Brazil: The Once and Future Country* (1996), and *Tropical Capitalism: The Industrialization of Belo Horizonte, Brazil* (2001). He is currently working on a single-volume history of Latin America. He has published numerous articles in a wide variety of scholarly journals and in popular publications. He has made more than 20 research and lecture trips to Latin America over the last 30 years.

Dr. Eakin is married to Michelle Beatty-Eakin, a high school teacher of English as a second language in Nashville. They have two teenage daughters.

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The Americas in the Revolutionary Era

Scope:

Between 1776 and 1825, wars for independence erupted all across the Americas, from Boston to Buenos Aires. Within two generations, the vast European colonial empires in the Americas collapsed and 19 new independent nations emerged. This course looks at these American revolutions, beginning with the outbreak of war in British North America in 1776 and ending with the final defeat of the Spanish in South America in 1825.

We will first look at the common cultural, economic, and political roots of these revolutionary movements. The Americas, Europe, and Africa in the 18th century formed interconnected and interacting parts of what I call the “Atlantic world.” For more than 200 years, the Atlantic Ocean had served as an enormous network for the exchange of people, goods, and ideas. The first two lectures provide an overview of the colonial empires in the Americas and the forces that set the stage for independence in the Atlantic world, including the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the French Revolution.

We then turn to a group of lectures on the revolution in the 13 colonies on the mainland of British North America. The American Revolution was the first successful colonial rebellion in the Americas, and it became an inspiration for other colonies and colonial elites. This section traces the formation of a colonial elite in the 13 colonies, the outbreak of war, and the shifting fortunes of the colonists on the battlefield. This group of lectures closes with reflections on the radicalism of the American Revolution and its importance in the history of the Atlantic world.

The first successful—and most revolutionary—colonial uprising in Latin America was the Haitian Revolution. It was the only successful slave rebellion in the Americas, and it arose directly out of the influence of the French Revolution. In a pair of lectures, we look at the rise of the French colony of Saint Domingue as the most brutal slave plantation society in the Americas and the complex series of uprisings and invasions that eventually led to the creation of the independent nation of Haiti in 1804.

The French Revolution also produced Napoleon Bonaparte. When Napoleon’s armies invaded Spain in the first decade of the 19th century, he provided the spark for revolts across Spanish America. In a pair of lectures, we examine the seeds of rebellion in the Spanish American colonies, especially the failed efforts of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain to revamp and revitalize the oldest colonial empire in the Americas. The second lecture of this pair then turns to Napoleon’s invasion of Spain and how the French occupation triggered revolts across Spanish America.

The middle section of the course turns to the wars for independence in Spanish and Portuguese America. This section highlights the role of several of the principal “liberators,” beginning with the cosmopolitan Francisco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar, and their roles in the liberation of northern South America—Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. The next set of lectures moves to southern South America, emphasizing the roles of José de San Martín in Argentina and Bernardo O’Higgins in Chile. The section closes with the great encounter of Bolívar and San Martín and Bolívar’s subsequent conquest of the heartland of Spanish South America—Peru.

In the next two lectures, we turn to the bloody uprisings that led to Mexican independence. The first uprising in 1810 triggered a social revolution. The rebellion of large numbers of Indians produced a powerful counterrevolution of the conservative elite. When independence did come in the early 1820s, it was forged out of an elite pact without much fighting. The Central Americans then broke away from Mexico with little bloodshed.

The next lecture surveys the relatively bloodless revolt that brought independence to Brazil, the only Portuguese colony in the Americas. The lecture emphasizes the importance of the transfer of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil and the presence of the royal family in the relatively smooth transition to independence. For Brazil, the struggle to hold the new nation together would be more difficult than the war for independence.

The next three lectures turn to counter-examples. Having looked at many successful wars for independence, we explore the failure to achieve independence in Cuba and Puerto Rico, two key Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. In the same lecture, we trace the complicated history of independence in the Dominican Republic, perhaps the most problematic case in the 19th century. We then turn to the British West Indies as a counterpoint, especially to the United States. These Caribbean colonies did not experience revolts and remained under imperial control well into the 20th century. The third lecture in this series looks at the strange case of Paraguay, a colony that achieved its independence almost by default, then isolated itself from the outside world for two generations.

The final two lectures return to the larger comparative picture, reflecting on the common processes and the successes and failures of the revolts. The lectures emphasize the importance of long-developing colonial traditions in the major European empires (British, Spanish, Portuguese, and French) and the role of individual leadership in the wars for independence. The final lecture explores the aftermath of independence, looking at the Americas in 1850 and the outcomes of the age of revolution in the Americas.

Lecture One

Revolutions and Wars for Independence

Scope: This lecture sets out the major themes and outlines the plan and logic for the course, along with discussing the concepts of *revolution* and *wars for independence*. This course surveys the wars for independence across all the Americas between the 1770s and 1820s, within the larger context of an Atlantic world that includes Europe, Africa, and the Americas (North and South). The course focuses on processes and personalities in a world of empires and colonies, beginning with the American Revolution in the 1770s, moving to the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s, and covering the wars for independence in Latin America in the 1810s and 1820s. We then discuss examples of failed revolutions to highlight the contingency of the processes of independence. The course concludes with the larger meaning of these wars and revolutions and with a survey of the aftermath of war across the Americas in 1850.

Outline

- I. This lecture discusses three main topics.
 - A. We begin by defining the major concepts in this course: *revolution* and *wars for independence*.
 - B. We then turn to an overview of the plan for all the lectures and the logic behind the plan.
 - C. The principal objective of this lecture is to lay out the major themes for the course.
- II. The methods and approach of the historian always shape the way the story of independence and revolution is presented.
 - A. This course combines what has been called history from “above” and “below.”
 1. The course focuses primarily on heroic figures, often from the upper sectors of society.
 2. At the same time, we combine the stories of these heroic figures with the struggles of the common people, the great majority of those who fought and died in the wars for independence.
 3. Many of these heroic figures came from the more humble sectors of society and rose to prominence through their brilliance on the battlefield.
 - B. This course also combines a history of prominent individuals (such as George Washington or Simón Bolívar) with a discussion of key institutions (such as monarchy) and the larger structures that have shaped the history of the Americas (such as the economy, social classes, and slavery).
- III. This course has nine sections.
 - A. The first two lectures set the scene for the age of revolution.
 1. By the middle of the 18th century, Europe, Africa, and the Americas formed part of an “Atlantic” world.
 2. For several centuries, peoples, goods, and ideas had circulated throughout this world in a process of cross-fertilization.
 3. The next lecture looks at the origins of revolutions in the Atlantic world, focusing on the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution.
 4. The third lecture provides a sweeping overview of the colonial empires in the Americas (Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French) on the eve of the great revolutionary transformation.
 - B. The next three lectures focus on the American Revolution.
 1. Lecture Four sets the stage by looking at the emergence of a sense of “American” identity in British North America by the 1770s.
 2. The following lecture turns to the outbreak of war and traces the fighting from Lexington and Concord to the British surrender at Yorktown.
 3. The final lecture in this cycle turns to the “meaning” of the American Revolution, setting out important differences between Anglo America and Latin America.
 - C. The second great revolution in the Americas erupted in the French island colony of Saint Domingue.

1. In a pair of lectures, we look first at the powerful influence of the French Revolution (1789–1799) on the island and all of the Americas.
 2. The second lecture in this pair then surveys the development of the only successful slave rebellion in the Americas, one that leads to the creation of the nation of Haiti.
- D. The fourth group of lectures sets the stage for the wars for independence in Latin America.
1. Lecture Nine surveys the aging and declining colonial empires of Spain in the 18th century, in particular, the efforts of the Bourbon dynasty to reform and revamp the empire.
 2. The next lecture then turns to Europe and the Napoleonic invasions of Spain and Portugal, the flashpoint that triggers the outbreak of wars for independence across Spanish America.
- E. The fifth group of lectures is the largest and covers the wars for independence in Spanish South America.
1. The section begins with two lectures on two of the most important figures in the liberation of Spain's colonies in the Americas: Francisco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar.
 2. Lecture Thirteen then looks at the liberation of northern South America—Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador—and the key role of Bolívar in this struggle.
 3. We then turn to southern South America, in particular, the liberation of Argentina and the great liberator of the region, José de San Martín.
 4. Lecture Fifteen introduces another of the great liberators—Bernardo O'Higgins—and looks at his crucial role in the independence of Chile.
 5. Lecture Sixteen closes this group with the liberation of the final Spanish stronghold in South America—Peru.
- F. The sixth group of lectures turns to Mexico and Central America.
1. In the first of these two lectures, we look at one of the great failed social revolutions in the Americas in 1810 and 1811, led by two Catholic priests in Mexico.
 2. The second lecture in this pair examines the “conservative revolution” in Mexico in the 1820s and the relatively easy independence of the United Provinces of Central America.
- G. The seventh section of the course is a single lecture—on Portugal's American colony in Brazil.
1. Although very similar to the experience of Spanish America, the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil in 1808 fundamentally alters the process of independence.
 2. Unlike anywhere else in the Americas, the brief war for independence in Brazil is led by a member of the royal family.
- H. The eighth group of lectures is a trilogy that provides perspective on the successful revolutions across the Americas.
1. Lecture Twenty looks at movements for independence that failed—in Cuba and Puerto Rico—and the complicated case of the Dominican Republic.
 2. Lecture Twenty-One provides a fascinating counterpoint to the other rebellions—the lack of wars for independence in the British West Indies and Canada.
 3. We pause, in Lecture Twenty-Two, to look at the unusual case of Paraguay, a nation that achieved independence with relatively little fighting, then moved in a direction unlike any other new nation in the Americas.
- I. The ninth section, lectures Twenty-Three and Twenty-Four, return to the big picture to compare and contrast all these revolutions across the Americas to tease out the larger patterns and processes.
1. In Lecture Twenty-Three, we revisit the key concepts of revolution and wars for independence.
 2. In the final lecture, we step back and survey the Americas in roughly 1850 to analyze the aftermath of the age of revolution in the Americas.

Supplementary Reading:

Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution*, Introduction.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think it is important to look at revolutions and wars for independence in a comparative perspective across all the Americas?
2. Why is it important to make a distinction between *revolutions* and *wars for independence*?

Lecture Two

Origins of Revolution in the Atlantic World

Scope: By the beginning of the 18th century, the Americas, Europe, and Africa formed part of a world intimately connected by the exchange of peoples, goods, and ideas across the Atlantic Ocean. In this lecture, we look at the most important transformations that shaped that Atlantic world by the middle of the 18th century. The Enlightenment produced a revolution in ideas and culture. A commercial and trade revolution increasingly tied together all the peoples of the Atlantic world, and England had begun to enter into the early years of one of the most important economic changes in human history—the Industrial Revolution. Finally, new political theories ushered in an age of political revolutions. These transformations in ideas, economics, and politics mark the beginning of what today we call the *modern world*.

Outline

- I. This lecture provides an overview of the origins of revolution in the Atlantic world.
 - A. By the 18th century, the Americas, Europe, and Africa formed part of a world intimately connected by the exchange of peoples, goods, and ideas.
 1. Centuries of European immigration, the slave trade, and commerce had created an Atlantic world.
 2. Ideas crisscrossed the Atlantic (North and South), as well as peoples and goods.
 3. This exchange became especially important by the second half of the 18th century.
 - B. What we call the *modern world* emerged in the 18th century.
 1. In this lecture, we will look closely at the most important facets of this emerging world.
 2. The Enlightenment was the great intellectual and cultural transformation of the 18th century.
 3. In economic terms, the great transformation of the late 18th century is the Industrial Revolution, beginning in England but with ripples and repercussions around the globe.
 4. The political revolutions, beginning with the 13 colonies in 1776 and France in 1789, formed the third great transformation leading to the creation of the modern world.
- II. These great transformations—intellectual, economic, and political—ripple and rumble across the Atlantic world in the 18th century.
 - A. The Enlightenment is a broad and general term for a series of intellectual and cultural changes across the 18th century.
 1. The Scientific Revolution in the 16th and 17th centuries brought to prominence among intellectuals the centrality of the scientific method as the principal means of discovering and evaluating knowledge.
 2. Reason was the great watchword of the age, as philosophers and intellectuals challenged the traditional importance of faith.
 3. In turn, this led to powerful challenges to organized religion, especially the Catholic Church.
 4. The broad skepticism of the era produced a general questioning of all authority, religious and civil.
 5. The 18th century also gave birth to that great political tradition that has dominated politics in the Western world for most of the past two centuries: liberalism.
 6. Although many European countries contributed to and participated in the Enlightenment, its center was France.
 7. One final cultural transformation of the age runs counter and parallel to the Enlightenment, Romanticism.
 - B. While the Enlightenment transforms the intellectual and cultural landscape of the Atlantic world in the 18th century, the Industrial Revolution produces equally revolutionary economic changes.
 1. The Industrial Revolution, at its core, is a technological transformation accompanied by profound repercussions in social organization and economic growth.
 2. Although it emerges first in England in the second half of the 18th century, it is built on changes that had been taking place in the first half of the century.
 3. The most important of these early changes were an impressive expansion in transatlantic and global trade and a profound transformation in agriculture and labor systems across the Atlantic world.

4. England may have been the center of an industrial revolution, but it was also at the heart of an Atlantic and global economic revolution.
- C. The great political transformation of the late 18th century is both a cause and a consequence of the age of revolution.
 1. The American Revolution is the beginning of the age of revolution in the Atlantic world.
 2. The French Revolution accelerates the great process of change on both sides of the Atlantic.
 3. Both revolutions emerge out of the influences of the intellectual and economic changes of the 18th century.
 4. Both then become powerful stimuli that influence the rise of other revolutions in the Atlantic world.

Supplementary Reading:

Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why does the emphasis on reason lead to the questioning of all authority?
2. How does economic change in the 18th century influence politics?

Lecture Three

Colonial Empires on the Eve of Revolution

Scope: Between 1492 and 1750, European powers invaded and conquered much of the Americas. The Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English had carved out large colonial empires from the Arctic to Patagonia, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This lecture surveys those colonial empires, their dimensions, and key characteristics in 1750. We begin with an overview of the Spanish conquest in the 16th century, then briefly discuss the Portuguese in Brazil. In the 17th century, the French move into Canada, the Mississippi River Valley, and the Caribbean. The lecture concludes with a discussion of the British colonies in the Americas—Canada and the 13 colonies on the North American mainland and British possessions in the Caribbean.

Outline

- I. In the century and a half after 1492, Europeans invaded, conquered, and colonized much of the Americas from Canada to southern South America.
 - A. The arrival of Columbus in the Caribbean in 1492 was one of the most important moments in the history of the world.
 1. It began the sustained and ongoing process of exchange between two worlds that had lived in isolation for millennia.
 2. Old World germs decimated Native American peoples, killing perhaps 85–90 percent of them within half a century.
 3. The colonial empires the Europeans constructed became the first powerful step in the rise of Europe to world supremacy in the modern world.
 - B. Eventually, all the European powers established colonies in the Americas.
 1. The Spanish arrived first and constructed the largest of these empires from what today is the southern United States to southern South America.
 2. The Portuguese carved out a wealthy colony in what is today Brazil.
 3. In the 17th century, the French and English moved into eastern North America and the Caribbean.
- II. The Spanish American Empire in the Americas had been in place for more than 250 years by the mid-18th century.
 - A. The core regions of Spanish America were Mexico City, Lima, and Havana.
 1. Silver flowed from Mexico and Peru, financing the empire.
 2. Havana formed the great commercial and military gateway to the empire.
 3. The Caribbean, New Spain, and Peru also had the largest and densest populations of Indians and slaves.
 - B. These were rich regions with well-developed Spanish and Creole elites.
 1. The Creoles and peninsular Spaniards sat at the top of the huge socioeconomic pyramid ruling over large Indian and black slave populations.
 2. A smaller midsection of the pyramid consisted of the growing groups of racially and culturally mixed peoples.
 3. By 1750, the Creoles were increasingly anxious to exert greater control over their homelands in the Americas.
- III. Portuguese America did not get off the ground as a colony until the late 16th century.
 - A. Brazil emerged after 1560 as an enclave on the coast of eastern South America.
 1. The introduction and spread of sugar cane and the massive importation of African slave labor made Brazil the first major plantation society in the Americas.
 2. At the beginning of the 18th century, the discovery of gold in the mountains in the interior of the southeast made Brazil and Portugal the richest empire in the world.
 - B. By 1750, Brazil also had a well-developed colonial elite, but one without a strong sense of local identity.

1. Like Spanish America, the small white elite dominated an enormous non-white labor force that consisted primarily of African slaves and their descendants.
2. The colony consisted of a few enclaves along the Atlantic coast, with the exception of the gold mining center some 200 miles inland.

IV. French and English America emerge much later than Spanish and Portuguese America.

- A. The French begin to explore and set up colonies in the Americas as early as the 16th century, but it is not until well into the 17th century that they develop any substantial settlements.
 1. In North America, their most important colony is in Quebec, but they face continual pressure from the British.
 2. Their most important colony by the 18th century is Saint Domingue, the western third of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola.
 3. Saint Domingue may be the richest colony in the Americas by 1780, and it has the greatest concentration of slaves in a plantation society anywhere in the Americas.
- B. The British are also latecomers to colonization in the 17th century.
 1. In the early 17th century, British colonists begin to establish themselves along the coast of North America, from present day Canada, through New England, and, eventually, to Georgia.
 2. Beginning in the 1650s, the British move into the Caribbean, wresting control of Jamaica, Barbados, and other islands from the Spanish.
 3. In Canada and New England, the colonists develop small-scale farming, commerce, and shipping as their principal activities.
 4. From Virginia to Barbados, they develop slave plantation societies similar to those in Brazil and the Spanish Caribbean.
 5. As we shall see, the small white colonial elites in New England and Canada developed in very different circumstances than their peers in the slave plantation colonies.
- C. In all these European colonies in the New World, the European and Europeanized elites would become increasingly restless in the last half of the 18th century.

Supplementary Reading:

Eakin, *Conquest of the Americas*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why does it make a difference that European colonial elites live in the midst of large populations of slaves or Indians?
2. Why does the earlier emergence of Spanish and Portuguese colonies make such a difference when comparing them to the English and French colonies?

Lecture Four

The “North” American Revolution Emerges

Scope: This lecture begins with a brief survey of the 13 colonies, including their origins, similarities, and differences. I stress the contingency and uncertainty of the colonists’ development as a unified group of peoples. This sense of unity emerges out of a series of colonial wars that the English fought, especially with the French in the 1750s and 1760s. In these decades, we begin to see the emergence of a sense of an “American” identity among the English colonists. By the 1770s, Englishmen in the Americas increasingly see themselves at odds with Englishmen on the other side of the Atlantic. The lecture concludes with the emergence of a colonial crisis and the move toward independence in 1775 and 1776.

Outline

- I. The 13 colonies were part of the larger process of European conquest, but they were different than most of the other colonies we will see in this course.
 - A. In many ways, the 13 colonies were very much like the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies in the Americas.
 - 1. The colonies from Maryland and Virginia to Georgia developed plantation agriculture and African slavery to produce cash crops for export to Europe.
 - 2. A relatively small white elite dominated the colonies as they subjugated and annihilated Native Americans and African slaves.
 - 3. The “English” elite consisted of recent immigrants from England, as well as English families with long roots in North America.
 - 4. Like many of the American colonies, the roots of rebellion emerged out of the grievances of colonial elites frustrated with the reassertion of imperial authority.
 - B. The differences with the Iberian colonies, however, were dramatic and would move the 13 colonies along a fundamentally different historical path.
 - 1. Many of the colonists—especially in New England—had fled the homeland to get away from the king’s authority, whereas the Iberian colonists hoped to work their way up through the monarchical system.
 - 2. The power of the monarchy was considerably weaker in England than in Spain and Portugal, and the political culture was already moving toward greater individual rights.
 - 3. New England, in particular, did not develop slavery and plantation agriculture but became a center for shipping, commerce, and trade.
 - C. Many historians of the United States throughout the last two centuries have focused on the differences and stressed the *exceptionalism* of the “American” experience and the American Revolution.
 - 1. I want to stress the similarities in the processes across all of the Americas while not losing sight of the distinctiveness of the U.S. experience.
 - 2. The United States is an exceptional nation but not as much as we would like to think.
- II. Imperial conflicts, especially between the English and the French, set the stage for the emergence of colonial unrest and the American Revolution.
 - A. After nearly half a century of what has been labeled “salutary neglect,” England rediscovered its North American colonies, largely prompted by war and conflicts with the French and Native Americans.
 - 1. The English colonies in North America were settled in a fashion very different than the conquest in Latin America.
 - 2. When the period of salutary neglect began in the early 18th century, the oldest colonies had been in place less than a century.
 - 3. Economic activity in the colonies had also expanded rapidly and dramatically in the first half of the 18th century.
 - 4. War and its costs compelled the British Crown and Parliament to end salutary neglect with a series of reforms in its Atlantic empire.

5. King George's War in the 1740s was the first stage of these emerging conflicts that began to reveal important differences in the interests of English colonists and the English government.
 6. Most historians, however, point to the Seven Years' War, or the French and Indian War (1756–1763), as the pivotal moment in the emergence of conflict between colonists and Crown.
 7. In the larger colonial scheme, the result of the war was the expulsion of the French from North America and the division of the continent between England and Spain, east and west of the Mississippi.
- B.** The rising costs of fighting wars in North America and continually defending the mainland colonies became the festering sore that would eventually produce a rupture between colonists and Crown.
1. From the early 1760s to the mid-1770s, the English Crown and Parliament enacted a series of imperial reforms to defend and maintain the American Empire.
 2. The taxes and duties they levied became a powerful divisive force between England and the 13 colonies.
 3. The Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, and the Townshend duties galled the American colonists and goaded them to action.
- III.** Within a few decades, the English began to develop a sense of identity as Americans.
- A.** Taxation and the increasing presence of British authority in the form of troops proved to be the catalysts for this change.
1. Time and again in the 1760s and 1770s, the British government pressed the issue of its authority over the colonists, more precisely, over its right to tax the colonials.
 2. In March 1770, British troops fired on a hostile crowd in Boston, killing five in what became known as the Boston Massacre.
 3. The passage of the Tea Act spurred the Boston Tea Party in December 1773 to protest the English legislation.
 4. In response, the English Parliament passed a series of Intolerable Acts, cracking down on the colonists.
- B.** The colonists responded by calling the First Continental Congress in 1774.
1. At this crucial moment, the colonists stood on the brink of making a full break with England.
 2. They were on the verge of defining themselves as an independent people in control of their own destiny.
 3. In early 1775, open fighting would break out and the die would be cast.

Supplementary Reading:

Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why is the issue of American exceptionalism so important?
2. How does foreign debt play such a crucial role in colonial discontent?

Lecture Five

From Lexington and Concord to Yorktown

Scope: This lecture covers the fighting during the American Revolution from Lexington and Concord to the British surrender at Yorktown in 1781. The victory of the American colonists is an extraordinary story of a small group of colonials challenging and defeating the most powerful empire in the world. This victory was made possible by the larger problems the British confronted in mobilizing for war and by the exceptional leadership among the rebellious colonials, in particular, the leadership of George Washington. We look at the northern campaign in 1776–1779, with the initial setbacks and the great turning point at the battle of Saratoga in 1777. We then look briefly at the war in the West, before turning to the successful campaign in the South, ending in victory at Yorktown.

Outline

- I. The American Revolution was a truly pivotal moment in the history of the Americas and the world.
 - A. Many historians have pointed out that the American Revolution was America's first civil war.
 - 1. The rebels (known as Whigs) had to rally to defeat not only the British troops but also their brothers and neighbors who remained loyal to the British Crown.
 - 2. Much like the Civil War of the mid-19th century, the battles would devastate the homes and families of the Americans and would degenerate into a war without restraint or pity.
 - B. On a larger scale, the successful rebellion of these seemingly small and insignificant colonies on the fringe of Britain's global empire would become a beacon for other rebellions over the next 200 years.
 - 1. This was, after all, the first successful colonial rebellion in the Americas and in the Atlantic world.
 - 2. The Declaration of Independence would become a widely imitated model for rebellions in locations as far-flung as early 19th-century Greece to mid-20th-century Vietnam.
- II. The war for independence lasted eight years and became a crucial battleground for the European powers—England, France, and Spain.
 - A. In the first stage of the war, from 1775 to 1777, the colonists managed to hold off an invading British army, build an army, and begin to win some important victories.
 - 1. As schoolchildren have learned for generations, the opening salvos in the war came at Lexington and Concord in April 1775, when American militiamen attacked British troops in search of weapons in Boston and the surrounding area.
 - 2. The intensity of the fighting increased when Massachusetts troops killed or wounded more than a thousand British troops at Bunker Hill overlooking Boston Harbor.
 - B. While the military struggle took shape in 1775 and 1776, the political battle provided the powerful and influential ideological rationale for the revolution.
 - 1. The Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia in May 1775 and became the deliberative body that would draw up the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation.
 - 2. In the midst of these tumultuous events, an extraordinary pamphlet, "Common Sense," appeared in January 1776 that crystallized the American anger at the British and eloquently and clearly made the case for independence.
 - 3. Largely written by Thomas Jefferson, the Declaration is one of the most powerful and influential documents in American history and beyond.
 - 4. The Articles of Confederation quite literally created the "United States of America."
 - C. In one of the pivotal decisions in U.S. history, the Continental Congress named George Washington commander of the Continental Army.
 - 1. When the British moved their center of operations from Boston to New York in 1776, Washington engaged in delaying tactics and guerrilla warfare while building up his army.
 - 2. The defeat of the British troops under General Burgoyne at Saratoga in October 1777 shocked the British and turned the tide in the war.
 - D. From 1778 to 1781, the revolution was drawn into the large struggle of imperial powers in the Americas.
 - 1. After Saratoga, the French and Spanish became more actively involved on the side of the rebels.

2. The British shifted their attention southward, anxious to ensure control of the southern colonies and protect their possessions in the West Indies.
3. Guerrilla warfare and defeats in open battle frustrated the British commander General Cornwallis; he moved his operations from South Carolina to Virginia in early 1781.
4. When a French and American army under Washington and Rochambeau surrounded Cornwallis at Yorktown in October 1781 and a French fleet cut off his escape, he surrendered, effectively ending the war.

III. In many ways, the diplomatic victory at the end of the war was as stunning as the military success.

- A. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay went to Europe to negotiate the peace treaty.
 1. Disregarding their instructions, they chose to negotiate directly with the British without consulting the French.
 2. After striking an extraordinary set of terms with the British, the negotiators then persuaded the French and Spanish to go along.
- B. The nation that emerged out of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 was immense.
 1. It extended from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River and from Georgia to roughly the current boundaries with Canada.
 2. The French took control of lands west of the Mississippi, and the Spanish regained control of east and west Florida.
 3. The United States of America became the first nation-state in the Americas.

Supplementary Reading:

Wood, *The American Revolution*.

Countryman, *The American Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why were the British so incapable of confronting and defeating the colonial troops?
2. What made the Treaty of Paris such an impressive diplomatic achievement?

Lecture Six

The Radicalism of the American Revolution

Scope: The “meaning” of the American Revolution has been hotly debated for more than 200 years. For some, it is a conservative effort by planters to seize power and control the development of a society already divided between slaves and free men, whites and non-whites, and the landed and the landless. For others, it represents a radical break with a hierarchical, monarchical past and the dramatic move toward a republic and democratic politics. This lecture discusses this debate. It also lays out two important contrasts—between the northern and southern states in the newly created United States and between Anglo America and Latin America.

Outline

- I. The meaning of the American Revolution has been hotly debated for more than 200 years.
 - A. The debate over the radicalism of the American Revolution goes to the heart of the meaning of the term *revolution*.
 - 1. For much of this century, revolution has been associated with social upheaval and the rise to power of one social class (usually the working class or peasants) and their triumph over the upper classes.
 - 2. Many historians since the beginning of the 20th century have tried to interpret the war as a revolt of oppressed peoples tossing aside monarchy and aristocracy.
 - 3. This interpretation went out of fashion in the 1960s and 1970s as historians stressed the conservative nature of the rebellion—of a political revolt by a small white planter elite, rather than a social transformation.
 - 4. This view was, ironically, shared by both conservative historians and historians on the left.
 - B. Led by Gordon Wood, some historians have once again argued for the “radicalism of the American Revolution.”
 - 1. Wood, in particular, has emphasized the profound social changes the revolution unleashed.
 - 2. The revolution, for Wood, created the most liberal, democratic, and commercially minded society in world history.
 - 3. It destroyed aristocracy, privilege, and hierarchical social structures.
- II. The impact of the revolution across the 13 colonies was not uniform.
 - A. The effects of the war were widespread and far-reaching.
 - 1. Perhaps 20 percent of the colonies had remained loyal to England, and some 60,000–80,000 people left for Canada, Britain, or other colonies in the aftermath of the war.
 - 2. The British had also freed thousands of slaves, especially in the South, and resettled them in Canada and the Caribbean.
 - 3. The Indians would soon suffer, as the war opened up westward expansion across the Appalachians and beyond.
 - 4. Finally, the fighting killed about 1 percent of the colonists, proportionally the bloodiest war in our history (with the exception of the Civil War).
 - B. The northern and southern colonies had evolved along very different paths for nearly 150 years before independence.
 - 1. New England and some of the mid-Atlantic colonies had a very different geography and environment than the agricultural regions of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.
 - 2. The thrust of some of the early settlements was heavily influenced by those fleeing religious persecution in England.
 - 3. Although all the colonies depended primarily on agriculture, by the mid-18th century, the North had developed a vibrant culture of trade, small manufacture, and shipping.
 - 4. Perhaps the most important difference was the minimal presence of slaves and slavery in the North.
 - C. The southern colonies had emerged by 1750 as productive plantation and slave societies.
 - 1. Tobacco farming in Virginia and rice production in South Carolina are two prime examples of export-oriented agriculture employing large numbers of slaves.

2. As many historians have pointed out, the South in 1775 was more aristocratic and hierarchical and less democratic than the northern colonies.
 3. In both North and South, the experience with Native Americans was similar: They were fewer in number than in Mexico or Peru, and the white colonists killed, conquered, or drove them off.
- D.** In the aftermath of the revolution, the two regions would increasingly diverge over the issue of slavery and states' rights.
1. The very ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution would make a resolution of the issue of slavery unavoidable.
 2. As the North became more commercial, democratic, and egalitarian, the same processes took shape in the South but were slowed by the presence and importance of slavery.
 3. In many ways, the seeds of the "second" Civil War were planted in the process of fighting the "first."
- III.** The revolution also hastened and heightened the growing differences among the political cultures and societies of the United States, Canada, and Latin America.
- A.** Anglo American political culture (including Canada) had been diverging from that of the Iberian colonies since the early 17th century.
1. These dissimilarities go back to profound differences in the monarchies of England and Iberia, even before the conquest and colonization.
 2. They were accentuated by the different types of immigrants and their motivations.
 3. By 1750, the English colonists in the Americas had already developed strong traditions of individual rights, constitutionalism, and self-government.
- B.** The United States was the most radical version of these traditions, and the revolution accelerated the pursuit of these values.
1. Canadian colonists tended to be more conservative and more loyal to the Crown.
 2. The immigration of thousands of loyalists after the war accentuated these tendencies.
- C.** Latin American political culture was much more centralist, hierarchical, paternalist, and collectivist.
1. Three hundred years of colonial rule had reinforced these traditions, rather than challenging them.
 2. The emergence of a revolutionary culture in the 18th century, then, had the same roots as that of the British colonists but took shape in a much different context.
 3. The radicalism of the American Revolution would serve as a powerful influence on the rest of the colonies in the Americas.
 4. For those seeking change, it would serve as a brilliant model.
 5. For those seeking to hold back change, it would become a threat to be avoided at all costs.

Supplementary Reading:

Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*.

Countryman, *The American Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways does slavery move the South in a different direction than the North?
2. How radical was the American Revolution in your view?

Lecture Seven

Slave Rebellion in St. Domingue

Scope: The Haitian Revolution is the only successful slave rebellion in the Americas. This lecture and the next analyze the only case of slaves rising up, taking power, and creating an independent nation. We begin with an overview of the rise of Saint Domingue as the classic example of the sugar and slave plantation complex in the Americas. We then turn to the French Revolution. Along with the American Revolution, it forms the most important influence on revolutionaries throughout Latin America after 1789. The influence of the French Revolution on Saint Domingue is direct and powerful, as planters, free people of color, and slaves enter into the discussion and promises of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The lecture concludes with the outbreak of violence in 1791.

Outline

- I. The second major revolution in the Americas broke out in the French colony of Saint Domingue.
 - A. The colony was a classic example of the harsh slave plantation societies of the Americas.
 1. The western end of the island of Hispaniola was settled by French pirates and buccaneers in the 17th century.
 2. Throughout the 18th century, the colony emerged as one of the most profitable sugar producers in the Americas and France's principal trading partner.
 - B. By the late 1780s, 90 percent of the colony's inhabitants were slaves, primarily from Angola and the Congo.
 1. Life on the plantations was brutal and harsh.
 2. The flood of arriving Africans profoundly shaped the creation of local culture and society, especially with the rise of *vodun*.
 - C. The colony developed a repressive and rigid racial hierarchy.
 1. About 25,000 whites, divided between those born in Europe (*grands blancs*) and those born in the Americas (*petits blancs*), dominated a colony with more than 400,000 slaves.
 2. About 20,000 mulattos (*gens de couleur*) lived in a world above the slave majority but looked down upon by the white minority.
 3. The harsh treatment of slaves (who were often Africans) and the discrimination against the free blacks and mulattos made the colony a racial powder keg.
- II. The French Revolution was an even more powerful and pivotal event in the history of Western civilization than the American Revolution.
 - A. Many historians would divide modern history into the era before the outbreak of revolution and after.
 1. France before 1789 was an absolutist monarchy and the largest country in Europe.
 2. Like much of Europe, it was an aristocratic, paternalistic, hierarchically structured society divided into nobles, commoners, and clergy.
 3. Increasingly heavy tax burdens on the poor, famine, and bitter divisions among the elites opened the way for revolution by 1789.
 - B. The collapse of the Old Regime in France in 1789 touched off 10 years of bitter violence and upheaval in France and culminated with the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte.
 1. The great catchphrase of the Revolution was "liberty, fraternity, and equality."
 2. In the first stage of the revolution, reformers tried to make a relatively peaceful transition from absolutist monarchy to constitutional republic.
 3. Very quickly, the radicals took over and pushed these ideals to their limits.
 4. The so-called counterrevolution ended the violence by 1799 but did not turn the clock back to the politics of the Old Regime.
- III. The ideals of the French Revolution had an immediate impact on Saint Domingue.
 - A. If "men are born free and remain free and equal in rights," as the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen says, then the message for free and slave in Saint Domingue was clear.

1. The *gens de couleur* immediately pressed for access to full citizenship, a move the whites bitterly opposed.
 2. Colonial whites soon found themselves holding off both the *gens de couleur* and the new French Assembly.
- B. As they did in so many of the revolutions in the Americas, divisions within the elites opened the path to upheaval and the collapse of the colonial regime.
1. Radical and contradictory instructions came out of Paris.
 2. Mulattos rose up in rebellion in 1790, and their leaders were brutally tortured and executed.
- C. In the midst of these conflicts among the elites, the slaves in the colony rose up in revolt.
1. Thousands of slaves on the northern plain of the island rose up in a war of total annihilation.
 2. They were led by a voodoo priest, Boukman.
 3. Thus began more than a decade of brutal warfare.

Supplementary Reading:

Schama, *Citizens*.

Fick, *The Making of Haiti*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why does the presence of so many Africans make such a difference in the formation of society in Saint Domingue?
2. Why is it so important for elite divisions to emerge before a revolution can take place?

Lecture Eight

The Haitian Revolution

Scope: In August 1791, thousands of slaves rose up in Saint Domingue, led by a voodoo high priest named Boukman, in a war for their freedom. Over the next decade, the revolt destroyed the power of white planters and their estates and laid waste to the French colony. Amidst the violence, a group of charismatic black leaders emerged. The most famous was the former slave Toussaint L'Ouverture. Over more than a decade, the rebellious slaves defeated invading armies from France, England, and Spain. The black leadership eventually turned against itself in a struggle for control of the revolution. Tragically betrayed, Toussaint would eventually die in a French prison, and his lieutenant, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, would declare the creation of an independent Haiti in 1804. The final section of this lecture turns to the significance of the Haitian Revolution for all of the Americas.

Outline

- I. In August 1791, thousands of slaves rose up in Saint Domingue, led by a voodoo high priest named Boukman, in a war for their freedom.
 - A. This first wave of rebellion pitted free against slave, white against mulatto, mulatto against black.
 - 1. Perhaps as many as 40,000 slaves attacked slave owners, burned their plantations, and laid siege to Le Cap François.
 - 2. Mulattos initially laid siege to Port-au-Prince but then joined with whites to put down the slave rebellion.
 - B. France, Spain, and England all eventually sent invading troops into Saint Domingue.
 - 1. England and Spain went to war against the French revolutionary regime, and the Spanish Crown sent its forces in Santo Domingo (the eastern two-thirds of the island) into battle on the side of the slaves.
 - 2. England also invaded, to support, not the slaves, but rather, the French planters who backed the deposed French king.
 - 3. In 1793, the French governor declared the freeing of all slaves to regain their support, and the French National Convention backed the move in 1794.
 - 4. The freed slaves gradually joined the colonial rulers in expelling the British and all the white planters by 1797.
- II. The greatest figure to emerge out of the revolution was Toussaint L'Ouverture.
 - A. The grandson of an African, Toussaint was born on the island in 1743.
 - 1. Educated on the plantation, he spoke French (although poorly), an African language, and the local dialect of French known as Creole.
 - 2. Freed in 1777, he married and had two sons.
 - 3. He was Catholic, a Francophile, and a vegetarian.
 - B. When the revolt broke out in 1791, Toussaint helped his former master escape, then joined the uprising.
 - 1. In 1794, Toussaint joined forces with the French, declaring his allegiance to the National Convention.
 - 2. Toussaint expelled the Spanish and secretly negotiated treaties with the British effecting their withdrawal.
 - 3. He tried to reestablish the plantation system by forcing the freed slaves to return to work.
 - C. Toussaint invaded Spain's Santo Domingo in 1801.
 - 1. Napoleon decided to reinstitute slavery and retake control of the island, sending his brother-in-law, General Charles LeClerc, with an invasion force in 1802.
 - 2. LeClerc promised not to restore slavery, and Toussaint laid down his arms only to be tricked and taken prisoner.
 - 3. He died in a prison in Jena in April 1803.
- III. Two of Toussaint's lieutenants, Henri Christophe and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, completed the struggle for independence.
 - A. Dessalines was born in West Africa and brought to the island as a slave.

1. He quickly rose to prominence after joining the rebellion in 1791.
 2. He led a bloody campaign against one of Toussaint's key rivals, André Rigaud, in 1799.
 3. After the capture of Toussaint, Dessalines initially supported the French but turned on them in 1803 when Napoleon reinstituted slavery.
 4. With British help, he expelled the French and declared the independent nation of Haiti on January 1, 1804.
 5. Dessalines declared himself Emperor Jacques I, but he was assassinated in October 1806.
- B.** The details of Henri Christophe's early life are unclear and hotly debated.
1. He may have been born in Grenada, and he may have begun life as a free person.
 2. He is also believed to have fought in the American Revolution.
 3. Like Dessalines, he eventually became one of Toussaint's key lieutenants.
 4. In the aftermath of the assassination of Dessalines, he fought with Alexandre Pétion for control of the country.
 5. Until 1820, he ruled over northern Haiti as Christophe I, setting up a royal court and new nobility.
- IV.** The Haitian Revolution reverberated across all the Americas.
- A.** For slave owners from Virginia to Brazil, it brought to life their greatest nightmare.
1. In the U.S. South, the response was a more rigid and repressive legal system that bound slaves more tightly in slavery.
 2. In such places as Cuba and Brazil, the message was clear: Any sort of war for independence could unleash a slave rebellion and a race war.
- B.** For those living in bondage to masters of any type, the revolution presented a powerful example of successful rebellion.
1. By 1804, two former colonies had defeated their powerful colonial masters.
 2. For Spanish American rebels, such as Simón Bolívar, Haiti would become both an inspiration and a refuge.

Supplementary Reading:

James, *Black Jacobins*.

Fick, *The Making of Haiti*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the racial divisions on the island become so powerful and divisive?
2. Why would Napoleon want to reinstitute slavery and reconquer the island?

Lecture Nine

Seeds of Rebellion in Spanish America

Scope: This lecture begins a series on the wars for independence in Spanish America. By 1750, the Spanish Empire in the Americas had been in place for two and a half centuries, and it was straining to survive. A powerful and increasing division had emerged between those Spaniards born in the Americas (Creoles) and those born in Spain (Peninsulars). Forces of intellectual and economic modernization both highlighted the backwardness of Spain in comparison with England and France and provided the impetus for Creoles to challenge the monarchy. In the mid-18th century, the Bourbon dynasty embarked on a series of political and economic reforms to revamp and revitalize the Spanish Empire. Ironically, these reforms were the source of some of the most important grievances of the Creoles and their motivations to break with Spain.

Outline

- I.** By 1750, the Spanish Empire in the Americas had been in place for two and a half centuries, and it was straining to survive.
 - A.** A growing division emerged among those at the top of the social hierarchy, between the Creoles and the Peninsulars.
 - 1. Spaniards born in Spain (on the Iberian Peninsula) were known as Peninsulars.
 - 2. Those of Spanish descent born in the Americas were known as Creoles.
 - B.** A sense of Creole identity had begun to emerge in Spanish America by the mid-17th century.
 - 1. This identity was reinforced by a growing sense of local pride and by the often open discrimination of Peninsulars when dealing with Creoles.
 - 2. Much like their English counterparts in North America, the Creoles increasingly saw themselves as the best judges of how to rule the colonies.
- II.** The process of modernization in Spanish America throughout the 18th century heightened the growing tension between Creoles and Peninsulars.
 - A.** As it had in North America, Enlightenment culture forced Spanish Americans to rethink their relationship to authority.
 - 1. They began to rethink their relationship with the Spanish monarchy, especially with the profoundly different approaches of the Bourbons after they succeeded the Hapsburgs.
 - 2. Many increasingly questioned the power and authority of the Catholic Church, the most important cultural institution in Spanish America.
 - 3. The radicalism of the French and American Revolutions had a profound impact on the Creoles.
 - B.** A trading revolution in the Atlantic world also had a powerful effect on the Creoles.
 - 1. By 1750, they acutely felt the inability to trade with the English and the restrictions on trading within the empire.
 - 2. The colonies had a larger population than Spain and produced more exports, but they were limited to trading with one port in Spain, and the trade was heavily regulated and taxed.
- III.** The Spanish Crown made a sustained effort in the mid-18th century to revamp and revitalize the empire with the Bourbon reforms.
 - A.** The Hapsburg dynasty ended with the death of Felipe IV in 1700.
 - 1. The struggle for succession touched off an international war involving the Spanish, French, English, and Portuguese, known as the War of Spanish Succession.
 - 2. The French succeeded in placing a branch of the Bourbon royal family on the Spanish throne, but the English won the war and achieved important economic and political concessions.
 - 3. The Spanish Bourbons would reorganize Spain's empire in the 18th century along the same lines that the French Bourbons had reorganized France in the 17th century.
 - B.** Collectively known as the Bourbon reforms, these sweeping changes affected administration, commerce, and the relationship between the Crown and its subjects.

1. The Bourbons rationalized the administration of the empire to centralize power in the hands of the king.
 2. The Crown also weakened the power of the nobles by creating many new nobles and excluding the older nobility from positions of power.
 3. The monarchy attacked the Catholic Church, severely weakening it in both Spain and the colonies.
 4. The monarchy reasserted control over the colonies after nearly a century of lax imperial rule.
 5. Although the Bourbons made a series of changes to stimulate more trade within the empire, the system was still closed to the English.
- C. The reforms, nevertheless, were too little and too late to save an aging empire.
1. The reassertion of imperial control, as in British North America, angered and alienated many of the Creoles.
 2. The continuing inability of Creoles to trade freely with the English also produced great dissatisfaction.
 3. These reforms, however, did not lead the Creoles to break with Spain.
 4. Few openly advocated a break—until events in Europe forced the issue.

Supplementary Reading:

Graham, *Independence in Latin America*.

Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why would Peninsulars look down on Creoles?
2. Why do you think Creoles continued to support the Spanish Crown even after the reforms were seen to be limited?

Lecture Ten

Napoleon Invades Spain and Portugal

Scope: Although the processes of modernization and reform set the stage for the wars for independence, it was the Napoleonic wars, and more specifically, Napoleon's invasion of Spain, that triggered the wars for independence in Spanish America. This lecture first looks at the rise of Napoleon and his efforts to dominate Europe. We then closely examine his invasion of Spain and Portugal, the flight of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil, and the imprisonment of the king and crown prince of Spain. The French occupation of Spain and Portugal sets off a war of skirmishes and a British invasion. These events touch off a series of (mostly) failed wars for independence in Spanish America after 1808. The defeat of Napoleon and the return of Fernando VII in 1814 create another flashpoint that sets off a second series of wars in Spanish America, wars that largely succeed.

Outline

- I. Although the processes of modernization and reform set the stage for the wars for independence, it was the Napoleonic wars in Europe, and more specifically, Napoleon's invasion of Spain, that triggered the wars for independence in Spanish America.
 - A. Napoleon's armies invaded Spain and Portugal in 1807–1808, deposing the Iberian monarchies and severing the connections between Iberia and the Latin American colonies.
 1. The Portuguese royal family fled Lisbon for Brazil in 1807, and Napoleon imprisoned the Spanish king and crown prince in 1808.
 2. The Spanish Americans would have to decide how to rule their own lands with their king under French control.
 3. Before we look at these invasions and their consequences, we must first return to the French Revolution and events in Europe.
 - B. After 1799, Napoleon emerged as the strongman in France; he led his armies across Europe until 1815, deposing monarchs and dominating the entire continent.
 1. Napoleon Bonaparte is one of the more extraordinary figures in the history of the West.
 2. In 1803, Britain declared war on France, and the Austrian and Russian Empires soon joined in a coalition against Napoleon.
 3. Napoleon concentrated on closing off the continent to English trade.
 4. After signing a peace treaty with the young Tsar Alexander I in 1807, Portugal and Spain were the only “holes” in the continental blockade.
- II. The Spanish and Portuguese monarchies reacted in different ways to the Napoleonic invasions in 1807–1808.
 - A. The Portuguese had long been allies of the English and had been preparing for a French invasion for more than a decade.
 1. The Braganzas had been the ruling family since 1640; Maria I had ascended to the throne in 1777.
 2. With the rise of the French revolutionary army in the 1790s, the Portuguese monarchy secretly began to plan for a possible invasion.
 3. When the French sent forces across Spain into Portugal in late 1807, the royal family chose to evacuate to Brazil under British escort.
 4. The Braganza family would reside in Brazil from 1808–1821, ruling their empire from Rio de Janeiro.
 - B. Compared to the Spanish Bourbons, the Portuguese Braganzas appear to be one big, happy, and astute royal family.
 1. The Spanish monarch, Carlos IV, had assumed the throne at the age of 40 in 1788 on the death of his father, Carlos III.
 2. In the years leading up to the Napoleonic invasion, Manuel de Godoy (chief minister), the queen, the king, and the crown prince all conspired among themselves, against each other, and with Napoleon at various times.
 3. The wily Napoleon “invited” Carlos and Fernando to visit him in southern France in April 1808.
 4. Napoleon then placed his half-brother Joseph on the Spanish throne.

- III.** The Spanish people resisted the French occupation with tenacity and at great cost.
- A.** The Spanish confronted the overwhelming force of the French with a form of fighting that came to be known as *guerrilla* warfare.
 - 1. The great uprisings of May 1808 initiated a six-year struggle to regain Spanish independence.
 - 2. The Spanish attacked with regular troops and in irregular units that became justly famous.
 - 3. The British came to the aid of the Portuguese and Spanish to counter the French expansion.
 - B.** Across the country and in the absence of the true king, citizens formed *juntas* to rule in the name of the imprisoned Fernando VII.
 - 1. Many of these juntas joined together to form a “supreme” Central Junta.
 - 2. Across Spanish America, the colonists also formed juntas.
 - 3. This was a pivotal shift, with the “people” ruling through the juntas rather than the king.
- IV.** These momentous events in Spain triggered the wars for independence in Spanish America.
- A.** A first set of wars broke out after 1808, led by the first wave of rebels.
 - 1. Most colonists were reluctant to break with Spain and chose to remain loyal to Fernando in his absence.
 - 2. As we shall see in the next series of lectures, some did choose to seize the opportunity of the moment and call for independence from Spain.
 - 3. The rebellions that broke out were nearly all defeated, with the great exceptions of Paraguay and Argentina.
 - B.** Ironically, the return of Fernando VII to power in 1814 triggered a second set of wars for independence.
 - 1. Fernando disappointed many loyal colonists by attempting to return to the absolutist, colonial regime of the 18th century, a stupid and disastrous move on his part.
 - 2. Combined with the great wounds and divisions opened by the first set of wars, Fernando’s rejection of constitutionalism and the Constitution of 1812 sparked the final collapse of Spain’s once-mighty empire in the Americas.

Supplementary Reading:

Graham, *Independence in Latin America*.

Harvey, *Liberators*, Introduction and Prologue.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Why did the Portuguese royal family take such a different approach than the Spanish royal family to pressure from Napoleon?
- 2. How would a constitutional monarchy have been different from the older absolutist monarchy?

Lecture Eleven

Francisco de Miranda—The Precursor

Scope: Francisco de Miranda is the most glamorous and dashing figure in the wars for independence. He was also destined to play the role of the precursor to the wars for independence in Latin America, rather than the great leader. This lecture looks at the dramatic life of Miranda. He was truly a revolutionary of the Atlantic world, having fought in North Africa, the American Revolution, the French revolutionary armies, and in the wars for independence in the Caribbean. Miranda's life and work foreshadowed the generation of revolutionary leaders in Latin America who would lead the wars for independence. He became the early mentor of the most famous of these liberators—Simón Bolívar.

Outline

- I. Now that we have looked at the seeds of rebellion in Spanish America and the sparks that light the fires of upheaval, we turn in the next series of lectures to wars for independence and the major revolutionary figures.
 - A. Francisco de Miranda is the most glamorous and dashing figure in the wars for independence.
 1. He was destined to play the role of the precursor to the wars for independence in Latin America, rather than the great leader.
 2. Miranda's life and work foreshadowed the generation of revolutionary leaders in Latin America who would lead the wars for independence.
 3. He became the early mentor of the most famous of these liberators—Simón Bolívar.
 4. This lecture looks at the dramatic life of Miranda, from his birth in Venezuela in 1750 to his death in a Spanish prison in 1816.
 - B. Born in Caracas in 1750, Miranda's father was Spanish and his mother, a member of the Caracas elite.
 1. Never fully accepted by the local elite because of his father's humble origins in the Canary Islands, Miranda was probably driven throughout his life by a desire to prove himself to those who had not accepted him as a young man in Caracas.
 2. In 1771, he left for Spain and a long exile from Spanish America.
 - C. During the 1770s, Miranda fought in the Spanish army in North Africa, then in Cuba.
 1. His father's money secured him an appointment as a captain in the Spanish army in 1773.
 2. In 1780, Miranda shipped out to the Caribbean; he fought in Florida and the Bahamas.
 3. In 1783 and 1784, he traveled throughout the young United States, meeting all the major revolutionary leaders and visiting all the major battlefields.
- II. At the end of 1784, Miranda headed from Boston to Europe, where he would spend most of the next 20 years.
 - A. From 1785–1789, he traveled across Europe, meeting and consorting with an incredible array of political and intellectual figures.
 1. For his detractors, these were years of debauchery and excess, while for his supporters, the European tour was brilliant preparation for the cosmopolitan revolutionary.
 2. He began his European tour in England, where he met and cultivated relationships with every conceivable person of importance.
 - B. In the early 1790s, Miranda became a general in the French revolutionary army.
 1. On two occasions, he was arrested and nearly executed as an enemy of the revolution.
 2. As he became disillusioned with the violent excesses of the revolution, he turned again to the cause of Spanish American independence.
 3. Miranda's home in London became a focal point of activity for Latin American exiles, including some of the greatest figures in the revolutions in the coming decades.
- III. In the first years of the 19th century, Francisco de Miranda was about to embark on the final stage of his life—the invasion of South America and the struggle to achieve its independence from Spain.
 - A. In 1804–1805, Miranda appeared to have finally realized his dream of mounting a foreign-supported expedition to liberate Venezuela.

- B. With money from English and American supporters, Miranda outfitted ships and hired mercenaries in New York City.
 - 1. The first expedition in 1806 failed miserably on the Venezuelan coast.
 - 2. When Miranda finally landed his forces on the Venezuelan coast and marched inland, he found that the locals had been warned and had fled.
- C. Miranda returned to London in late 1807 via Trinidad to avoid problems in the United States.
 - 1. Despite the failure of his first effort at “liberating” Spanish America, his cause was buoyed by the Napoleonic invasion of Spain and Portugal.
 - 2. Miranda would have to wait two more years before his luck would once again change.
 - 3. The course of events took a decided turn in 1810, when a delegation arrived in London headed by one of Miranda’s great admirers—the young Venezuelan Simón Bolívar.

Supplementary Reading:

Racine, *Francisco de Miranda*.

Harvey, *Liberators*, chapters 1–5.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Do you think Miranda was truly a revolutionary or simply an opportunist?
- 2. In what ways did his extensive travels influence his intellectual and political formation?

Lecture Twelve

Simón Bolívar—The Liberator

Scope: Simón Bolívar is the most famous of all the Latin American revolutionary figures, the George Washington of a half dozen South American nations. This lecture looks closely at the life of Bolívar, from his birth in Venezuela in 1783 to his first forays into politics and war in 1810. The classic example of the Creole leader of independence, Bolívar was raised in an affluent Venezuelan family and educated by a series of private tutors. One of those tutors, Simón Rodríguez, was a classic Enlightenment intellectual who would play a crucial role in Bolívar's intellectual formation—in Venezuela and Europe. After a life in the pursuit of pleasure, Bolívar met and married the great love of his life at the age of 21, only to experience the tragic death of his beautiful young wife within months. Bolívar returned to Europe, eventually committing his life to the liberation of his fellow Americans.

Outline

- I. Simón Bolívar is the most famous of all the Latin American revolutionary figures, the George Washington of a half dozen South American nations.
 - A. Much like Washington, Bolívar rose to the occasion, a classic example of the historical dictum that the man and the hour meet.
 1. This lecture looks closely at the life of Bolívar, from his birth in Venezuela in 1783 to his first forays into politics and war in 1810.
 2. In an era of Creole revolutionaries, Bolívar was the classic Creole leader.
 3. Much like Miranda's, Bolívar's early life would not have inspired much confidence in his ability to lead men and create nations.
 4. True to the spirit of his age, Bolívar was an idealist and a romantic.
 - B. The comparison with George Washington, however, has its limitations.
 1. Washington rose to prominence for his steady and sober personality and leadership style.
 2. Washington was not known for his military brilliance on the battlefield.
 3. Once in power, Bolívar was never able to provide the stability that Washington brought to the early republic in the United States.
- II. Simón Bolívar was born on July 24, 1783, into an elite Venezuelan family that could trace its local roots back to the conquest of the 16th century.
 - A. Like Miranda, Bolívar spent much of his youth experiencing the privileges of the wealthy.
 1. The Caracas of his youth was the third largest city in South America, with some 40,000 inhabitants.
 2. Bolívar was educated by a series of tutors, in particular, Simón Rodríguez.
 3. While Bolívar was between the ages of 9 and 14, Rodríguez took his young charge to the remote countryside and educated him in a mix of what one writer has described as cowboy life and Enlightenment philosophy.
 4. The teenage Bolívar was then enlisted in a militia unit to provide him with some discipline and direction.
 - B. In 1799, at the age of 16, Bolívar was sent to Spain to complete his education and make his fortune.
 1. Bolívar's cousin, Esteban Palacios, had close connections to the Spanish Court, and the young Simón may have even played with the crown prince and future king, Fernando VII.
 2. Although we do not know much about his movements, in 1801 and 1802, he lived in France and had the opportunity to observe Napoleon's regime up close.
 3. Bolívar fell madly in love with María Teresa Rodríguez y Alaiza, and they married in May 1802.
 4. They set up their home at an estate at San Mateo outside Caracas in mid-1802, yet tragically, María Teresa died of a fever within two months.
 5. The grieving Bolívar returned to Europe and a period of intense debauchery.
 6. In Paris, he was reunited with his old tutor, Simón Rodríguez, and Bolívar committed his life to the liberation of the Spanish American colonies.

III. The first uprising in Venezuela turned into a fiasco for both Bolívar and Miranda.

- A.** In 1810, Venezuelan Creoles organized their own junta and sent a delegation to London seeking British support.
 - 1. After receiving a cold shoulder from the British, Bolívar persuaded the charismatic Miranda to return to lead the struggle in Venezuela.
 - 2. On July 5, 1811, the Venezuelan congress declared the colony independent from Spain.
 - 3. After some initial military success with Miranda as commander-in- chief, the rebels faced serious setbacks.
 - 4. Powerful earthquakes in March 1812 killed some 20,000 and were seen by many as a sign from God that the rebellion was illegitimate.
- B.** In a series of twists befitting a Greek drama, Bolívar now turned on Miranda.
 - 1. The 61-year-old leader signed a humiliating surrender and prepared to flee to London.
 - 2. Bolívar arrested Miranda and handed him over to Spanish authorities, then fled to Curaçao.
 - 3. The Spanish shipped their old enemy back to the infamous La Carraca prison in Cadiz.
 - 4. His powerful English friends could not secure his release, and Miranda spent the last four years of his life as a prisoner, dying on July 14, 1816, the 27th anniversary of the fall of the Bastille.
 - 5. The Precursor perished, betrayed by his heir to the leadership of the liberation of Spanish South America.

Supplementary Reading:

Racine, *Francisco de Miranda*.

Harvey, *Liberators*, chapter 6.

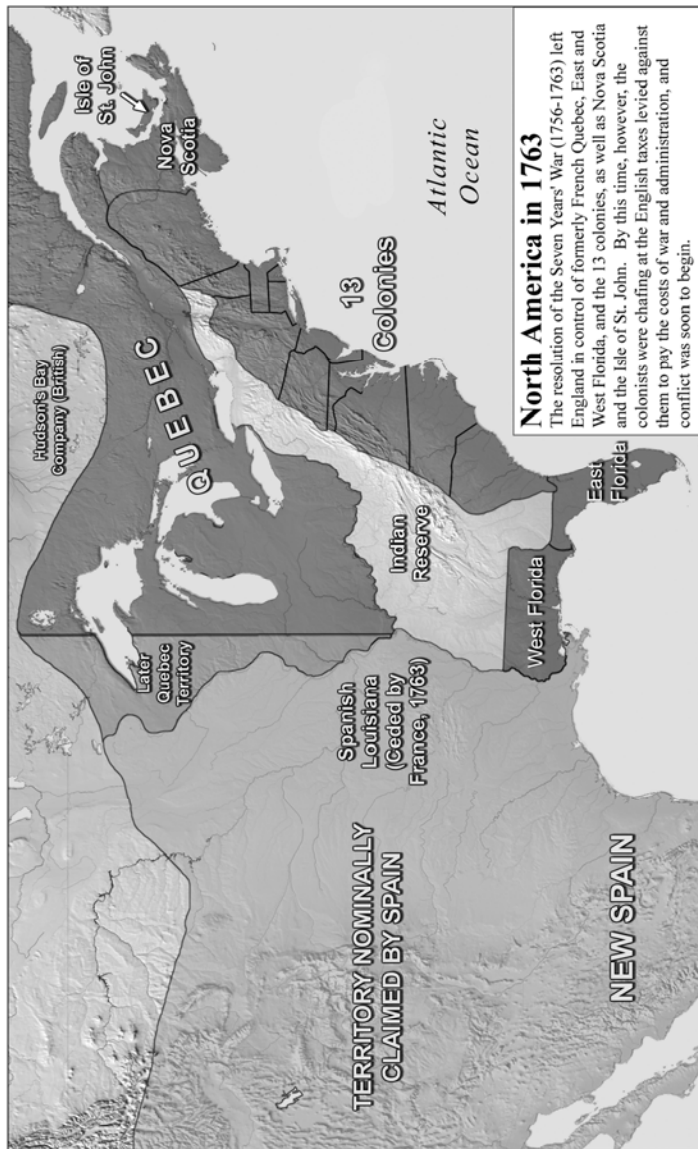
Questions to Consider:

- 1. In what ways were Bolívar and Miranda cut from the same cloth?
- 2. Why were the Spanish so anxious to capture and imprison Miranda?



European Colonial Possessions: 1750

On the eve of the era of independence, Spain, France, Britain, and Portugal had firmly established themselves in the New World. Spain's empire stretched from the southwest of the United States today down to Argentina. Spanish South America, which had already begun to divide into two viceroalties, New Granada in the north and Peru in the south, would later add the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata in what today is Argentina. The Portuguese, while nominally claiming the territory of Brazil, had settled mainly on the coast and established plantation agriculture. France claimed areas of North American territory, but settled sparsely in New France. Their most important possession was St. Domingue in the Caribbean (see later map.) Britain's 13 colonies flourished through trade, and Britain had also expanded greatly into the Caribbean.

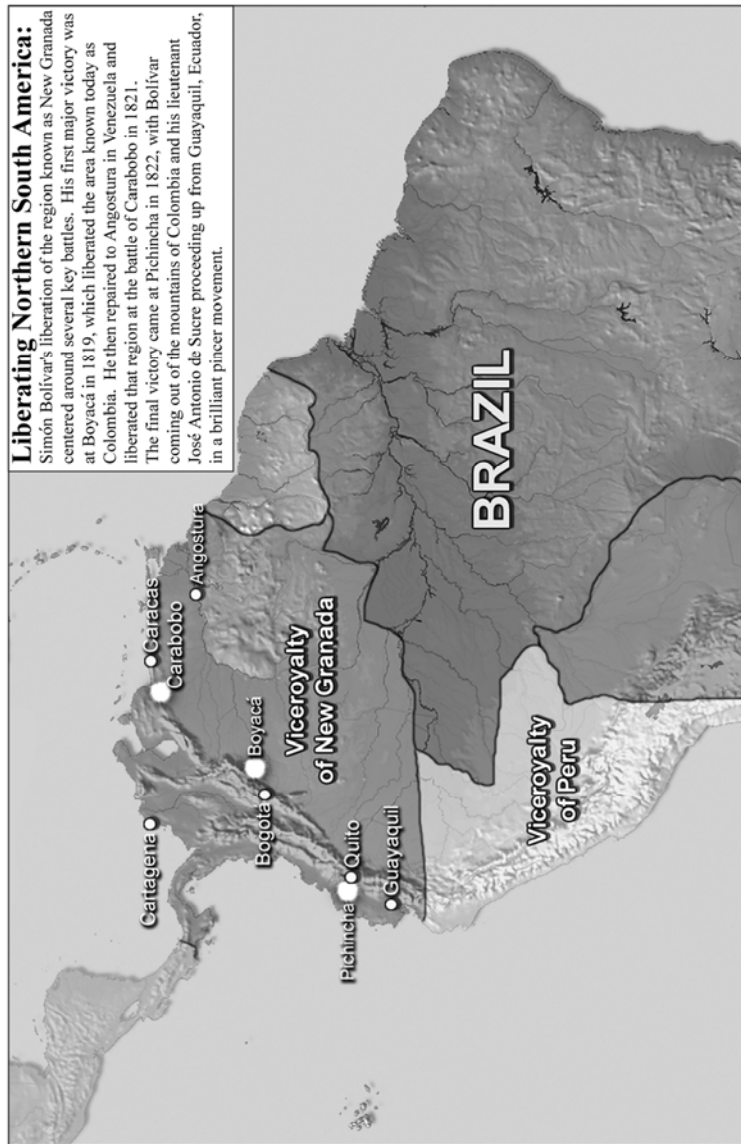




Spanish and Portuguese America in 1776:

In 1776, Spain added its last viceroyalty to South America, the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, encompassing what is now Argentina and Bolivia. The region that today is Uruguay was contested between Spain and Portugal, and while a 1750 treaty had placed the territory within Spain's control, it would be a disputed area into the 19th century. The Missions region was also now under the supervision of La Plata, but was largely neglected as a fringe area. New Spain still technically encompassed Central America, though the latter was largely autonomous and ruled from Guatemala. The core regions of the empire remained in Mexico (New Spain) and the Viceroyalty of Peru, while New Granada and Chile were less important. Brazil, in this period, remained under Portuguese control.







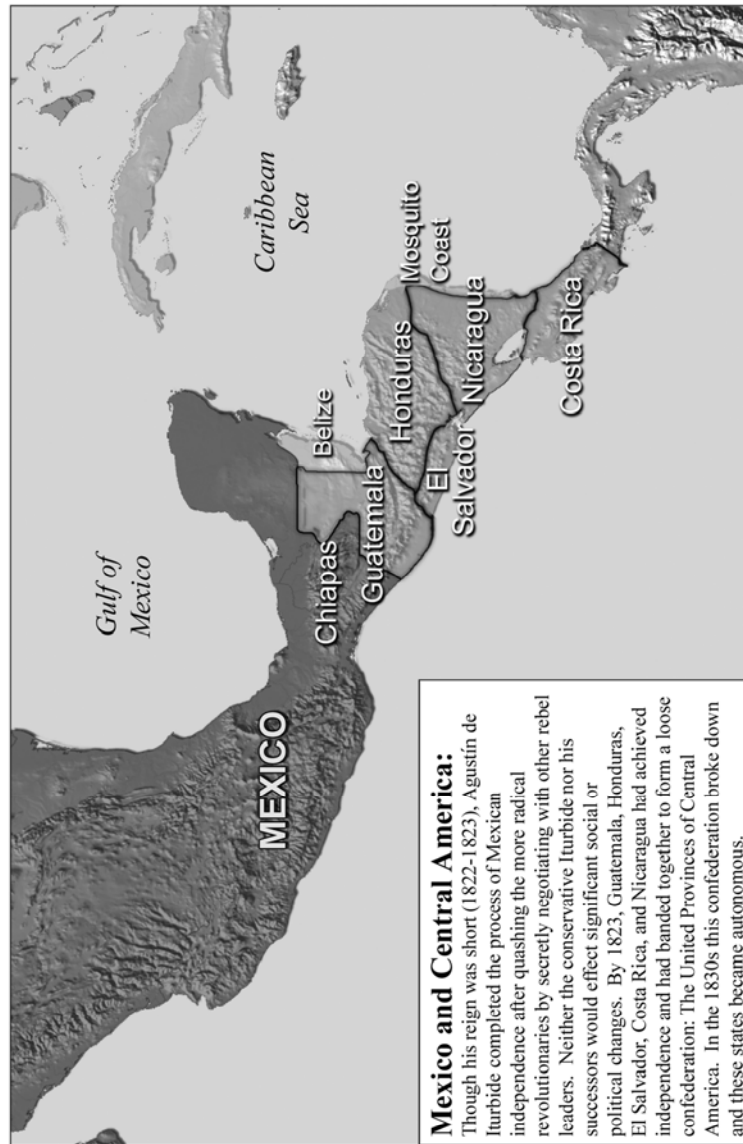
Argentina and Chilean Independence:

The first hero of Argentinian independence was Santiago Liniers who successfully drove British invaders out of Buenos Aires in 1807. The local *junta* expelled the feckless viceroy in 1810, but formal independence was not declared until 1816, and true unification of the interior with Buenos Aires came later still. Meanwhile, in Chile, local elites formed their own *junta* in 1810. In 1813, alarmed at these stirrings towards independence, the Spanish sent troops to Chile, landing south of Santiago. After an early rebel defeat, Bernardo O'Higgins fled to Mendoza and trained with José de San Martín. In 1817 the rebels headed north to take the province of Coquimbo, south to cut off royal troops from Concepción, then converged on Chacabuco, meeting San Martín's army, who had just crossed the Andes passes on the way to the Chacabuco triumph in February, 1817. The final rebel victory came at Maipó in April, 1818.



The Liberation of Peru:

San Martín retired from the scene after meeting with Bolívar in Guayaquil, and Bolívar turned to liberating the last remaining viceroyalty in South America, the Viceroyalty of Peru, as well as the northern remnant of the old Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, called Upper Peru. In one last march across the Andes, he and Sucre won battles at Junín and Ayacucho in 1824 to complete the liberation of the old viceroyalty, then liberated Upper Peru, which would become Bolivia, with victories at La Paz and Potosí in 1825. The liberation of Spanish South America was now complete.





Independent American States, 1850

Timeline

1700	Bourbons replace Hapsburgs as royal family in Spain.
1763	French and Indian (Seven Years') War ends; westward migration in 13 colonies banned.
1764	English Parliament passes Sugar Act.
1765	English Parliament passes Stamp Act.
1766	Stamp Act repealed.
1767	English Parliament passes Townshend Acts.
1768	British troops sent to Boston.
March 5, 1770.....	Boston Massacre.
December 16, 1773.....	Boston Tea Party.
1774	First Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia.
April 18, 1775.....	Paul Revere's ride.
April 19, 1775.....	Battles of Lexington and Concord.
May 10, 1775.....	Second Continental Congress convenes.
June 17, 1775.....	Battle of Bunker Hill.
January 1776.....	Thomas Paine publishes <i>Common Sense</i> .
July 4, 1776	Continental Congress approves Declaration of Independence.
August 27, 1776	British occupy New York City.
December 25–26, 1776.....	Washington crosses the Delaware River; Battle of Trenton.
January 3, 1777.....	Battle of Princeton.
September 11, 1777	Battle of Brandywine.
October 1777	Washington takes army to Valley Forge for the winter.
October 17, 1777	British defeated at Saratoga.
November 15, 1777	Congress approves Articles of Confederation.
1778	France and the United States form an alliance.
1778	Decree of "Free Trade" allows opening of more ports in Spanish America and Spain to trade.
May 12, 1780.....	British capture Charleston, South Carolina.
1780–1781	Rebellion of Tupac Amaru in Peru.
January 17, 1781.....	Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina.
March 1, 1781.....	Articles of Confederation ratified.
October 19, 1781	Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown.
1783	British and Americans sign peace treaty in Paris.
1787	Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia drafts a constitution for the new nation.
1788	All states ratify the Constitution except Rhode Island and North Carolina.

March 4, 1789.....	First U.S. Congress convenes in New York City.
April 30, 1789.....	George Washington sworn in as first president of the United States.
July 14, 1789	French Revolution begins with the storming of the Bastille.
1789	Minas conspiracy in Brazil.
1791	Bill of Rights (first 10 amendments to the Constitution) adopted.
1791	Slave rebellion erupts in Saint Domingue.
1799	Napoleon emerges as a power in France.
January 1, 1804.....	Haiti becomes an independent nation.
1806	Miranda makes failed attempt to liberate Venezuela; British invasion of Buenos Aires.
1807	Napoleon invades Portugal, and Braganzas flee to Brazil.
1808	Napoleon imprisons Spanish king and crown prince, taking control of Spain; Brazilian ports opened to world trade; Central Junta formed in Seville to oppose French.
January 1810.....	Regency replaces Central Junta in Spain.
April 1810.....	Venezuelan junta deposes royal authority.
May 1810.....	Junta takes over from viceroy in Argentina.
July 1810	Juntas take power in Paraguay and Colombia.
September 1810	Hidalgo leads revolt in Mexico; junta organizes government in Chile.
1811	Venezuelan congress declares independence; United Provinces of New Granada founded; Hidalgo captured and executed in Mexico.
1812	Spanish constitution takes effect; Spanish forces defeat rebels in Venezuela.
1813	British and Spanish forces drive French from Spain.
1814	Fernando VII restored to Spanish throne.
1815	Morelos captured and executed in Mexico; Bolívar writes Jamaica Letter.
1816	Congress of Tucuman declares Argentine independence.
1818	San Martín and O'Higgins defeat Spanish forces in Chile.
1819	Bolívar wins battle of Boyacá.
1820	Liberal revolts in Spain and Portugal create constitutional monarchies.
April 1821.....	João VI returns to Portugal from Brazil.
July 1821	San Martín seizes Lima.
August 1821	Mexico achieves independence under Iturbide.
July 1822	Bolívar establishes Gran Colombia.
September 1822	Pedro declares Brazilian independence.
1823	Portuguese expelled from Brazil; Central America separates from Mexico.
1824	Battle of Ayacucho liberates Peru.
1825	Sucre liberates Bolivia.
1828	Uruguay becomes an independent nation.

- 1830..... Death of Bolívar; Gran Colombia fragments into Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela.
- 1831..... Pedro I of Brazil abdicates.
- 1838..... United Provinces of Central America fragments into Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Glossary

Articles of Confederation: Document produced by the Continental Congress in 1777 as the charter setting out the relationship of the 13 colonies as parts of a new nation.

Ayacucho: Last major battle in the wars for independence in Spanish America, where José Antonio Sucre defeated the royalist forces in southern Peru.

Boston Massacre: Killing of American colonists when British troops opened fire on a crowd in Boston on March 5, 1770.

Boston Tea Party: On December 16, 1773, a group of colonists dressed as Indians toss tea from ships into Boston Harbor to protest British taxes.

Bourbon dynasty: Royal family in Spain, beginning with the War of Spanish Succession (1700–1714) and continuing to the present.

Braganza dynasty: Ruling family of Portugal, beginning in 1640, and in the Brazilian Empire (1822–1889).

cabildo: Town council in Spanish American cities.

Conservatives: Political party found in much of Latin America in the aftermath of independence whose members supported the authority of the Catholic Church, strong governments, a traditional social structure, and government intervention in the economy.

cortes: The name for the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments.

Creoles: Descendants of Spaniards born in the Americas.

Enlightenment: Cultural, intellectual, and philosophical movement in the 18th-century Atlantic world characterized by a strong belief in the power of reason and science and a mistrust of authority, hierarchy, monarchy, and the power of the Catholic Church.

French Revolution: Ten years of political upheaval in France (1789–1799) that ushered in the politics of the modern world, in particular, the beliefs in individual liberty, equality before the law, and the superiority of a republic over a monarchy.

gens de couleur: Literally, “people of color,” a term used in Saint Domingue in the 18th century to refer to those who were neither slaves nor whites.

grands blancs: Literally, “big whites,” a term used in Saint Domingue in the 18th century to refer to the upper crust of white society.

Grito de Dolores: Miguel Hidalgo’s call for independence in Mexico in 1810, considered to be the most important symbolic moment of rupture with Spain in the struggle for independence.

Grito de Ipiranga: Pedro I’s call for independence in Brazil on September 7, 1822, and the equivalent of the Fourth of July for Brazilians.

Hapsburg dynasty: Ruling family in Spain and the Spanish Empire (1516–1700).

Industrial Revolution: Social and economic transformation, beginning in England in the 1760s, that involved the technological shift from power produced by animal and vegetal matter to the use of minerals (especially coal), steam engines, and a factory system, resulting in sustained economic growth and continually rising income.

Jesuits: Extremely influential and powerful male religious order in the Catholic Church formed by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in the 1530s to educate Catholics, fight Protestant heresy, and spread the word of God to peoples around the world.

juntas: Council of notables formed in Spanish American cities in the early 19th century to rule in the name of Fernando VII during his imprisonment in France.

Liberals: Political party found in much of Latin America in the aftermath of independence whose members were inspired by France, England, and the United States and who attempted to restrict the authority of the Catholic

Church, support decentralized governments, promote laissez-faire economics, and (in theory) encourage individual liberties and equality before the law.

llaneros: Horsemen from the plains of Venezuela who first fought, then supported the cause of Simón Bolívar in northern South America.

mestizo: Generic term in Spanish America for someone with mixed ancestry that included Indians and Europeans.

mulatto: Generic term in Spanish and Portuguese America for someone with mixed ancestry that included blacks and whites.

Peace of Tilsit: Treaty between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I of Russia in 1807 that allowed Napoleon to turn his attention toward Spain and Portugal in his final drive to dominate all of Europe from the Atlantic to Eastern Europe.

Peninsulars: Term in the Spanish Empire referring to Spaniards living in the Americas who were born in Spain.

petits blancs: Literally, “small whites,” a term used in Saint Domingue in the 18th century to refer to the segment of white society below the upper crust or *grands blancs*.

Plan de Iguala: Plan proclaimed by Agustín Iturbide declaring his vision of Mexican independence in 1821.

revolution: A fundamental restructuring of the social, economic, or political system of a nation or region.

salutary neglect: Period in the first half of the 18th century in British North America when the colonies were relatively free of intervention by British authorities.

Scientific Revolution: Series of fundamental discoveries and publications from the mid-16th century to the mid-17th century that saw the emergence of what we now call modern science and the scientific method.

Seven Years' War: War fought between France and England on several continents between 1756–1763, also known as the French and Indian War in North America.

Stamp Act: Unpopular law passed by British Parliament in 1765 to impose new taxes on American colonists.

Sugar Act: Unpopular law passed by British Parliament in 1764, imposing new taxes on sugar.

Townshend duties: Series of unpopular taxes imposed on American colonists by British Parliament in 1767.

wars for independence: Rebellions against colonial rulers to establish independent nations.

Biographical Notes

Adams, John (1735–1826). Second president of the United States and a key figure in the independence movement from Massachusetts.

Alexander I (1777–1825). Tsar of the Russian Empire in the early 19th century, who signed the Peace of Tilsit, then had to repel Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812.

Beresford, William (1768–1854). English soldier and diplomat who played a key role in Portugal and Brazil in the first two decades of the 19th century.

Bolívar, Simón (1783–1830). A Venezuelan and the greatest figure of the Spanish American wars for independence.

Bonaparte, Napoleon (1769–1821). Emperor of France and the dominant political figure in European politics from 1799–1815.

Boukman (d. 1791). Voodoo priest who led the slave uprising in Saint Domingue in 1791.

Braganza, João VI (d. 1826). Crown prince, then king of Portugal, who ruled the empire from Brazil (1808–1821).

Braganza, Pedro I (1798–1834). Crown prince of Portugal who declared Brazilian independence in 1822, then became the emperor of Brazil.

Braganza, Pedro II (1825–1891). Son of Pedro I and the emperor of Brazil (1840–1889).

Bustamante, José de (1759–1825). Major figure in the war for independence in Mexico.

Carlos II (1665–1700). Last Hapsburg king of Spain, also known as the “Bewitched”.

Carlos IV (1788–1808). King of Spain, deposed by Napoleon in 1808.

Christophe, Henri (1767–1820). Major figure in the struggle for Haitian independence and emperor (1804–1820).

Cochrane, Thomas, Earl of Dundonald (1775–1860). British naval mercenary who played a key role in the independence of Brazil, Chile, and Peru.

Columbus, Christopher (1451?–1506). Better known as Cristóbal Colón, the Genoese adventurer who led the first known expedition from the Old World to reach the Americas and return (1492–1493).

Cornwallis, Charles (1738–1805). Commander of British troops during the American Revolution.

Dessalines, Jean-Jacques (1758–1806). Key leader and general in the war for Haitian independence.

Felipe IV (1621–1665). Hapsburg king of Spain during the era of imperial decline.

Fernando VII (1784–1833). King of Spain who was imprisoned by Napoleon in 1808 but returned to power in 1814.

Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez de (1766–1840). Dictator of Paraguay for nearly 30 years in the early 19th century.

Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790). One of the founding fathers of the United States and a key figure in negotiating recognition of independence by European powers.

Guerrero, Vicente (1783–1831). Major figure in the war for Mexican independence.

Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel (1753–1811). Considered by many to be the founding father of the Mexican nation with his call for independence in 1810.

Iturbide, Agustín de (1783–1824). Mexican general who took the lead in the final stages of the war for independence and served briefly as emperor of the Mexican Empire.

Jay, John (1745–1829). Another one of the founding fathers of the United States.

Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826). Third president of the United States, author of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the most important of the founding fathers.

Leclerc, General Charles (1772-1802). Brother-in-law of Napoleon and commander of the French army that invaded Saint Domingue in an effort to regain control of the French colony.

Liniers, Santiago (1753-1810). One of the earliest military leaders of the independence movement in Argentina.

L'Ouverture, Toussaint (1743–1803). The greatest figure of the Haitian Revolution.

Miranda, Francisco de (1750–1816). Known as the Precursor, this Venezuelan was one of the earliest to organize the movement for independence in northern Spanish America.

Morelos, José María (1765-1815). Catholic priest who, along with Hidalgo, led the first wave of the struggle for Mexican independence.

Moreno, Mariano (1778–1811). Early leader and intellectual in the Argentine struggle for independence.

Nariño, Antonio (1765-1823). Very early critic of Spanish rule in northern South America and the publisher of a Spanish translation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen.

O'Higgins, Bernardo (1778–1842). Illegitimate son of the Irish viceroy of Peru, he became the great hero of Chilean independence.

Páez, José Antonio (1790-1873). Leader of the *llaneros* in Venezuela and a key ally of Simón Bolívar in the liberation of northern South America.

Pumacahua (d. 1815). Leader of an Indian uprising in Peru who was executed when captured in 1815.

Rigaud, André (1761-1811). Key leader in the Haitian Revolution.

Rodríguez, Simón (1769-1854). Tutor and mentor to Simón Bolívar.

San Martín, José de (1778–1850). Greatest figure in the liberation of southern South America, also known as the Protector.

Santander, Francisco de Paula (1792-1840). Major figure in the liberation of Colombia and one of its first presidents.

Sucre, José Antonio de (1795-1830). One of Simón Bolívar's most important generals and the victor in the battle of Ayacucho in 1824.

Virgin of Guadalupe. Patron saint of Mexico and a key symbol of the struggle for Mexican independence.

Washington, George (1732–1799). Greatest of the founding fathers in the United States, commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army, and first president.

Wellesley, Arthur, Duke of Wellington (1769–1852). Key figure in the Anglo-Portuguese forces fighting Napoleon on the Iberian Peninsula and the victor over Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo.

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- Harvey, Robert. *"A Few Bloody Noses": The Realities and Mythologies of the American Revolution*. New York: Woodstock & Overlook Press, 2001. A lively, very new account of the American Revolution from the perspective of an English historian.
- . *Liberators: Latin America's Struggle for Independence, 1810–1830*. Woodstock & New York: Overlook Press, 2000. Excellent traditional narrative history of the subject; full of wonderful anecdotes, with a focus on the key liberators.
- Langley, Lester D. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996. The best comparative study of the topic by a leading historian of U.S.-Latin American relations.
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- Bethell, Leslie, ed. *The Independence of Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Series of scholarly essays by the leading historians of the subject, with very detailed bibliographic essays.
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- Bushnell, David, and Neill Macaulay. *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. An excellent survey.
- Butler, Jon. *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000. Fine study of the transformation of British North America before the revolution.
- Collier, Simon. *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808–33*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967. Scholarly volume that is the best survey in English of the political and ideological shifts of the movement for independence in Chile.
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- Eakin, Marshall C. *Conquest of the Americas*. Chantilly, VA: The Teaching Company, 2002. Sweeping survey of the first two centuries of colonial rule in the Americas. Companion course to this one.
- Ellis, Joseph. *Founding Fathers: The Revolutionary Generation*. New York: Vintage, 2002. Prizewinning collective view of the key figures in the American Revolution. Highly recommended.
- Ferling, John. *A Leap in the Dark: The Struggle to Create the American Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. New and lively account with lots of information on personalities and key figures.
- Fick, Carolyn E. *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990. One of the best surveys of the Haitian Revolution.

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Palmer, R. R. *The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800*. 2 v. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959–64. The standard, but now somewhat dated, survey of the age of revolution, focusing on the United States and Europe.

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Schama, Simon. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. New York: Knopf, 1989. Prizewinning bestseller by one of the major historians of the Anglo-American world today.

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The Americas in the Revolutionary Era Part II

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After teaching for two years at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, Professor Eakin moved to Vanderbilt University, where he has taught since 1983. Since 2000, he has been chair of the Department of History. He has won numerous teaching awards at Vanderbilt, including the Jeffrey Nordhaus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, given annually by the College of Arts and Science; the Madison Sarratt Prize for Excellence in Teaching, given annually by the board of trust; and a chair of teaching excellence, also awarded by the board of trust. In 1999, Dr. Eakin was named the Carnegie Foundation/CASE Tennessee Professor of the Year.

Dr. Eakin has published three books, *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960* (1989), *Brazil: The Once and Future Country* (1996), and *Tropical Capitalism: The Industrialization of Belo Horizonte, Brazil* (2001). He is currently working on a single-volume history of Latin America. He has published numerous articles in a wide variety of scholarly journals and in popular publications. He has made more than 20 research and lecture trips to Latin America over the last 30 years.

Dr. Eakin is married to Michelle Beatty-Eakin, a high school teacher of English as a second language in Nashville. They have two teenage daughters.

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The Americas in the Revolutionary Era

Scope:

Between 1776 and 1825, wars for independence erupted all across the Americas, from Boston to Buenos Aires. Within two generations, the vast European colonial empires in the Americas collapsed and 19 new independent nations emerged. This course looks at these American revolutions, beginning with the outbreak of war in British North America in 1776 and ending with the final defeat of the Spanish in South America in 1825.

We will first look at the common cultural, economic, and political roots of these revolutionary movements. The Americas, Europe, and Africa in the 18th century formed interconnected and interacting parts of what I call the “Atlantic world.” For more than 200 years, the Atlantic Ocean had served as an enormous network for the exchange of people, goods, and ideas. The first two lectures provide an overview of the colonial empires in the Americas and the forces that set the stage for independence in the Atlantic world, including the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the French Revolution.

We then turn to a group of lectures on the revolution in the 13 colonies on the mainland of British North America. The American Revolution was the first successful colonial rebellion in the Americas, and it became an inspiration for other colonies and colonial elites. This section traces the formation of a colonial elite in the 13 colonies, the outbreak of war, and the shifting fortunes of the colonists on the battlefield. This group of lectures closes with reflections on the radicalism of the American Revolution and its importance in the history of the Atlantic world.

The first successful—and most revolutionary—colonial uprising in Latin America was the Haitian Revolution. It was the only successful slave rebellion in the Americas, and it arose directly out of the influence of the French Revolution. In a pair of lectures, we look at the rise of the French colony of Saint Domingue as the most brutal slave plantation society in the Americas and the complex series of uprisings and invasions that eventually led to the creation of the independent nation of Haiti in 1804.

The French Revolution also produced Napoleon Bonaparte. When Napoleon’s armies invaded Spain in the first decade of the 19th century, he provided the spark for revolts across Spanish America. In a pair of lectures, we examine the seeds of rebellion in the Spanish American colonies, especially the failed efforts of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain to revamp and revitalize the oldest colonial empire in the Americas. The second lecture of this pair then turns to Napoleon’s invasion of Spain and how the French occupation triggered revolts across Spanish America.

The middle section of the course turns to the wars for independence in Spanish and Portuguese America. This section highlights the role of several of the principal “liberators,” beginning with the cosmopolitan Francisco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar, and their roles in the liberation of northern South America—Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. The next set of lectures moves to southern South America, emphasizing the roles of José de San Martín in Argentina and Bernardo O’Higgins in Chile. The section closes with the great encounter of Bolívar and San Martín and Bolívar’s subsequent conquest of the heartland of Spanish South America—Peru.

In the next two lectures, we turn to the bloody uprisings that led to Mexican independence. The first uprising in 1810 triggered a social revolution. The rebellion of large numbers of Indians produced a powerful counterrevolution of the conservative elite. When independence did come in the early 1820s, it was forged out of an elite pact without much fighting. The Central Americans then broke away from Mexico with little bloodshed.

The next lecture surveys the relatively bloodless revolt that brought independence to Brazil, the only Portuguese colony in the Americas. The lecture emphasizes the importance of the transfer of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil and the presence of the royal family in the relatively smooth transition to independence. For Brazil, the struggle to hold the new nation together would be more difficult than the war for independence.

The next three lectures turn to counter-examples. Having looked at many successful wars for independence, we explore the failure to achieve independence in Cuba and Puerto Rico, two key Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. In the same lecture, we trace the complicated history of independence in the Dominican Republic, perhaps the most problematic case in the 19th century. We then turn to the British West Indies as a counterpoint, especially to the United States. These Caribbean colonies did not experience revolts and remained under imperial control well into the 20th century. The third lecture in this series looks at the strange case of Paraguay, a colony that achieved its independence almost by default, then isolated itself from the outside world for two generations.

The final two lectures return to the larger comparative picture, reflecting on the common processes and the successes and failures of the revolts. The lectures emphasize the importance of long-developing colonial traditions in the major European empires (British, Spanish, Portuguese, and French) and the role of individual leadership in the wars for independence. The final lecture explores the aftermath of independence, looking at the Americas in 1850 and the outcomes of the age of revolution in the Americas.

Lecture Thirteen

Liberating Northern South America

Scope: After his disastrous early failure, Bolívar succeeded in seizing power in Caracas, only to lose it again. After exile in the Caribbean, Bolívar turned his attention to Colombia and the war for independence there. Before liberating Venezuela, his troops crossed the towering Andes and drove the Spanish from Colombia in 1821. He eventually succeeded in liberating Venezuela with the help of British volunteers and the rugged horsemen of the Venezuelan plains. The Liberator created the new nation of Gran Colombia, composed of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. With his trusted lieutenant, José Antonio Sucre, he marched into Ecuador in 1822 and completed the liberation of northern South America.

Outline

- I. The liberation of Venezuela and the rest of northern South America proved to be a bloody and drawn out struggle that would last more than a decade.
 - A. With the imprisonment and eventual death of Miranda, Simón Bolívar assumed the mantle of the leader of the independence movement.
 1. From the impetuous and naive protégé of Miranda in 1810, Bolívar had learned from his failures and developed the strength and leadership he would need to succeed.
 2. He had an almost superhuman energy and endurance.
 3. He wrote letters and manifestos in a volume that now seems staggering for a man who was constantly at war and on the move.
 4. And he became completely ruthless in pursuit of his cause, one that he completely identified with himself.
 - B. From his exile in the Caribbean, Bolívar decided to join the struggle for independence in Colombia.
 1. Modern Colombia was known as New Granada before independence.
 2. Like many other colonial cities, Bogotá had a junta, organized by Creoles in July 1810.
 3. One of the strongest voices in Colombia was that of Antonio Nariño, who had published a translation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen years earlier.
 4. A loose confederation known as the United Provinces fought the loyalists with little success.
 5. In Colombia, Bolívar composed his Cartagena Manifesto.
 6. In one of the first epic battles, Bolívar led his men through northeastern New Granada, through jungles and the seemingly impassable mountains of the Cordillera Oriental.
 - C. In this new Venezuelan campaign, Bolívar engaged in a bloody and brutal “war to the death” with Spanish loyalists.
 1. The Spanish General Monteverde had waged a war without mercy, and Bolívar now returned the favor.
 2. With several thousand men, Bolívar swept down from western Venezuela.
 3. Bolívar was acclaimed the Liberator in October 1813 and dictator in January 1814.
 4. In fact, the greatest scourge of Bolívar was not the Spanish, but the cowboys and horsemen (known as the *llaneros*, or “plainsmen” in Spanish) of the southern part of the country in the Orinoco River basin.
 5. The Spanish forces under Miranda’s old army friend, Juan Manuel Cagigal, and the lancers of Boves were too much for the rebels.
 6. This became one of the Liberator’s darkest moments.
 - D. Bolívar did not tarry long in Curaçao before returning to New Granada.
 1. Compared to the complex racial politics of Venezuela, New Granada was simpler.
 2. In December 1814, allied with a variety of patriot forces, Bolívar took control of Bogotá, the old capital of the viceroyalty of New Granada.
 3. With his departure, the Spanish arrived and reestablished control of Venezuela and New Granada.

- II. From the Caribbean, Bolívar set out once again to liberate Venezuela.
 - A. He would first have to spend two years cooling his heels in Kingston, Jamaica, and Haiti.
 1. When he arrived in Kingston, he was penniless.
 2. While in Jamaica, he wrote and published his most famous document, known as the Jamaica Letter.
 - B. Several events converged to produce success in the final stages of the war for the liberation of Venezuela from 1817–1820.
 1. Bolívar received help from key people and places, including Haiti and thousands of volunteers from Great Britain.
 2. He forged a crucial alliance with José Antonio Páez, the charismatic leader of the *llaneros*, the tough cowboy horsemen of the Venezuelan plains.
 3. Páez and Bolívar made a pivotal decision: to concentrate their forces in the more isolated Orinoco River basin and to gain control of the countryside before moving on Caracas.
 - C. In one of the most dramatic and brilliant moves of the revolutionary era, Bolívar marched from eastern Venezuela into the mountains of Colombia, liberating it from Spanish rule.
 1. Moving from tropical lowland jungles up over mountains and through snowy mountain valleys above 10,000 feet, his army of several thousand suffered bitterly.
 2. On August 7, 1819, they defeated the Spanish on the plains near Bogotá at Boyacá.
- III. In 1819, Bolívar began the final stage in the liberation of northern South America.
 - A. At the congress convened at Angostura, he now called for the formation of a new nation that would combine Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador.
 1. The Congress proclaimed the creation of the new nation in December 1819.
 2. At the same time, a liberal uprising in Spain weakened the monarchy and Spain's ability to continue the struggle in Spanish America.
 3. Bolívar defeated the Spanish forces at the battle of Carabobo on June 24, 1821, effectively achieving Venezuelan independence.
 - B. Bolívar now turned his attention to Ecuador.
 1. Sending his close friend José Antonio Sucre with a large army by sea to Guayaquil, Bolívar headed through the mountains of southern Colombia.
 2. Sucre won a decisive battle at Pichincha, fought at an altitude of nearly 10,000 feet above sea level, near Quito on May 24, 1822.
 3. The victories of Sucre and Bolívar in southern New Granada and Ecuador had completed the struggle that had begun more than a decade before with the declaration of Venezuelan independence.

Supplementary Reading:

Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, chapters 6–7.

Harvey, *Liberators*, chapters 7–13.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think Bolívar had such difficulty in bringing the Spanish Americans to join his cause?
2. Why was Bolívar's plan to unite Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador impractical?

Lecture Fourteen

San Martín and Argentine Independence

Scope: José de San Martín is the counterpart of Simón Bolívar in southern South America. Like northern South America, the region around the La Plata was on the periphery of the Spanish Empire. Along with Venezuela, Buenos Aires was one of the early leaders in the break from Spanish rule. San Martín emerged as the great military figure in the struggle for independence. This lecture focuses on the process of independence in Argentina (and Uruguay) and the figure of San Martín. The son of a Spanish soldier, born in the interior of the viceroyalty in 1778, San Martín served loyally and well in the Spanish army in North Africa and Europe in the 1790s. His conversion to the causes of independence and his leadership of the armies that liberated Argentina and Chile would make him one of the great leaders of the era.

Outline

- I. While Simón Bolívar was the great Liberator of northern South America, José de San Martín emerged as the Liberator of southern South America.
 - A. Like northern South America, the region around the La Plata was on the periphery of the Spanish Empire.
 1. From northern South America, Bolívar would descend on Peru with his forces.
 2. From southern South America, San Martín would ascend with his forces in a great pincers movement on Spain's colonial center.
 3. The fall of Peru, the wealthy viceregal capital, would mark the completion of the liberation of Spain's South American colonies.
 4. This lecture focuses on the process of independence in Argentina (and Uruguay) and the figure of San Martín.
 - B. San Martín's early years somewhat paralleled those of Miranda and could not be more different than the easy early life of Bolívar.
 1. San Martín was born in 1778 in the interior of Argentina, the son of a Spanish army officer.
 2. At the age of 7, he returned to Spain and began a military career at age 11, eventually rising to lieutenant colonel.
 - C. At this moment, San Martín experienced a conversion to the cause of Spanish American independence, a conversion we know little about.
 1. In September 1811, after 22 years in the army and having lived most of his life in Spain, San Martín deserted the Spanish army and, with the help of the British, arrived in London in December.
 2. At the old home of Miranda, now occupied by Bolívar's Venezuelan friend Andrés Bello, he met other rebels in exile.
- II. The nature of the independence movement in Argentina owed a great deal to its geographical position and late development as a colony.
 - A. For most of the colonial era, the La Plata basin was one of the backwaters of the empire.
 1. On the periphery of the viceroyalty of Peru, the pampas became a breeding ground for cattle and mules, and Buenos Aires was a small center for smuggling.
 2. In 1776, Spain created the viceroyalty of La Plata, and Buenos Aires grew to a thriving port, with some 40,000–50,000 inhabitants by 1800.
 3. Along with Venezuela, Buenos Aires was one of the early leaders in the break from Spanish rule.
 - B. Two British invasions triggered the struggle for independence.
 1. In 1806, Sir Home Popham and Colonel William Beresford took control of Buenos Aires.
 2. A second invasion in February 1807 was repelled under the leadership of Liniers.
 3. Although the Spanish king soon stamped the move with his approval, the powerful and wealthy local elites on both sides of the La Plata acted on their own.
 4. Spaniards were now fighting Spaniards for control of the colony and undermining royal authority in the process.

- III. The process of Argentine independence, and its early years of nationhood, was shaped by a struggle between Buenos Aires and the provinces of the interior.
- A. In May 1810, local notables formed a junta that marked a turning point in the move to independence.
 - 1. In August 1809, the junta in Seville had sent out a new viceroy, Baltasar Cisneros, to take over from Liniers.
 - 2. When notables called for a *cabildo abierto*, or “open town meeting,” in May 1810, they seized and deported Cisneros and claimed governing authority in the name of the captive Fernando VII.
 - 3. Although the junta did not declare independence, in Argentine history, the “Revolution of May 1810” is celebrated as the moment of national independence.
 - B. A series of committees and individual rulers struggled to assert control over the powerful leaders of the provinces of the interior.
 - 1. The leaders of the first junta were an odd mix of politicians.
 - 2. The so-called unitarians called for a strong centralized government, while federalists argued for a loose confederation of provinces.
 - 3. In March 1812, San Martín and a number of Argentines returned from England.
 - 4. San Martín had become a powerful figure and the moving force behind a coup in October 1812 that overthrew the junta.
 - C. While the struggle between Buenos Aires and the interior provinces continued to hold back the completion of the war for independence in Argentina, the people of the eastern shore of the La Plata moved to achieve independence from both Spain and Buenos Aires.
 - 1. The major figure in the struggle for Uruguayan independence was José Gervasio Artigas.
 - 2. As the chief of the easterners, he led an independence struggle with greater and more broad-based participation by the masses than perhaps anywhere else in the Americas, save Haiti.
 - 3. Uruguay would not achieve its independence until 1828, after a long struggle between the government in Buenos Aires and the new Brazilian nation.
 - D. In the midst of this battle over centralism versus federalism, San Martín secured an appointment in the northern province of Cuyo; he would spend nearly eight years preparing and carrying out his plan to liberate all of southern South America.
 - 1. From 1814–1817, while political leaders fought over control of the “nation,” San Martín recruited and trained an army.
 - 2. He recruited Chileans fleeing Spanish forces, in particular, the future hero of Chilean independence, Bernardo O’Higgins.
 - 3. His march across the Andes would be one of the most dramatic moves in the epic of Latin American independence.

Supplementary Reading:

Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, chapter 2.

Harvey, *Liberators*, chapters 25–27.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. How does Argentina’s position as a backwater of empire shape its process of independence?
- 2. In what ways does the confederation versus federation struggle in Argentina parallel that of the United States?

Lecture Fifteen

Bernardo O'Higgins and Chile

Scope: The great military hero of Chilean independence is Bernardo O'Higgins (1778–1842), the illegitimate son of the Irish-born former viceroy of Peru. The first part of this lecture looks at O'Higgins and his emergence as a leader in Chile after 1810. The middle section looks at the virtual civil war in Chile as Creoles vied for control and Spaniards attempted to crush the moves toward independence. In the final section of the lecture, we look at O'Higgins's flight to Argentina, his relationship with José de San Martín, and the heroic march of their combined forces through the towering Andes to liberate Chile from the Spanish.

Outline

- I. Now that we have seen the wars for independence in the La Plata region, we will move across the Andes to join the two great pincers of the movements to liberate Spanish South America.
 - A. The military hero of Chilean independence is Bernardo O'Higgins (1778–1842), the illegitimate son of the Irish-born viceroy of Peru.
 1. The first part of this lecture looks at O'Higgins and his emergence as a leader in Chile after 1810.
 2. The middle section looks at the virtual civil war in Chile as Creoles vied for control and Spaniards attempted to crush the moves toward independence.
 3. In the final section of the lecture, we look at O'Higgins's flight to Argentina, his relationship with José de San Martín, and the heroic march of their combined forces through the towering Andes to liberate Chile from the Spanish.
 - B. Although on the periphery of the Spanish American Empire, Chile was not as isolated as Argentina and Paraguay, and it had developed into a thriving Creole colony by the beginning of the 19th century.
 1. Geography has powerfully shaped the development of the Chilean nation.
 2. A small but vibrant *mestizo* society developed in the center of the country, built around a Mediterranean-like climate and agriculture.
 3. Long a dependency of Peru, in the late 18th century, Chile came out from under the administrative tutelage of Peru.
 - C. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the Spanish governor in Chile managed to aggravate the divisions between Creoles and Peninsulars.
 1. As in Buenos Aires, the Chileans convened a junta of upper-class Creoles and Spaniards professing their loyalty to Fernando VII in 1810.
 2. Once again, the choices facing the elites were reform of the system or revolution.
 3. One of the most outspoken revolutionaries was Bernardo O'Higgins, who quickly emerged as a popular military hero.
- II. Bernardo O'Higgins is one of the most unusual and fascinating figures in that small pantheon of the great liberators of the Americas.
 - A. O'Higgins was the illegitimate child of an Irishman and a Chilean woman.
 1. His father, Ambrosio O'Higgins, rose through the ranks of the Spanish American bureaucracy, eventually becoming the viceroy of Peru.
 2. Born in 1778 in Chillán, Bernardo was educated in England, where he came under the influence of Francisco de Miranda.
 3. Ambrosio O'Higgins died in 1801 and left his son an inheritance in Chile that made Bernardo a wealthy young man.
 4. He returned to Chile in 1802 to the life of a rich landowner.
 - B. In 1810, O'Higgins began to raise his own militia and entered the political fray reluctantly.
 1. Much like Argentina, Chile in the 1810s gradually eased its way into independence before the battles had been fought and won.
 2. When the viceroy of Peru sent troops into Chile in 1813, O'Higgins reluctantly accepted the post of commander-in-chief for the forces of the rebels.

3. Divisions among the Chilean rebels weakened their efforts and, after a defeat at the battle of Rancagua in October 1814, O'Higgins fled across the Andes to Argentina.
4. Fortunately for the rebels, the Peruvian viceroy attempted to reimpose a harsh system that reasserted Spanish control and alienated large numbers of Creoles.

III. San Martín's march through the Andes and the defeat of the Spanish in Chile is a story of epic proportions.

- A. San Martín had become convinced that the only way to secure permanent independence and peace in southern South America was to liberate Peru, and the only way to accomplish that feat was through Chile, then northward.
 1. The years 1814–1816 were tough ones for the rebels all over Spanish America with the return to power of Fernando VII.
 2. San Martín slowly and steadily built an army of 5,000 in Mendoza.
- B. In early January 1817, the Army of the Andes began its ascent, in the dead of winter.
 1. Before departure, San Martín had employed diversionary tactics to mislead the royalists in Chile.
 2. The Army of the Andes also divided into several columns.
 3. As they ascended through the Los Patos pass, the cold and altitude sickness began to take their toll on the men and animals. San Martín lost nearly half his supplies and hundreds of men.
- C. The battered forces of the Army of the Andes moved into the central valley of Chile, regrouped, and defeated the royalists at Chacabuco near Santiago in February 1817.
 1. The battle involved the careful coordination of several contingents of troops under San Martín, O'Higgins, and another commander, Miguel Soler.
 2. San Martín entered Santiago in triumph and sent his brother-in-law back across the Andes to carry the good news to Buenos Aires.
 3. At San Martín's insistence, the glory went to Bernardo O'Higgins, who was named supreme dictator of Chile.
 4. For his part, San Martín returned to Argentina to gather support for the assault on Peru.
 5. The royalists regrouped and defeated San Martín in March 1818 before he definitively vanquished them on the plains of Maipó outside Santiago in April 1818.
- D. The conquest of Chile was complete, but it would be some time before the new nation achieved political stability.
 1. O'Higgins was a pragmatic politician, and he would dominate Chilean politics for the next five years.
 2. In January 1823, facing a spreading revolt against the government, O'Higgins chose to resign his position and hand over power to the junta.
 3. He died in October 1842 at the age of 64, just as he was preparing to return to Chile.

Supplementary Reading:

Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, chapter 4.

Harvey, *Liberators*, chapters 26–32.

Questions to Consider:

1. How do you think an Irishman and his illegitimate son were able to rise so far in the social and political hierarchy of Spanish America?
2. Why do think strong centralized government was so often the result of the first years of independence?

Lecture Sixteen

Liberating Peru

Scope: The first war for independence in Spanish America barely touched Peru. As in Mexico, the Creole elites in Peru feared the specter of Indian uprisings and were reluctant to challenge Spanish authority. The liberation of Peru, the great Spanish stronghold in South America, would come from two directions: led by Simón Bolívar from the north and José de San Martín from the south. The encounter between the two greatest figures in the wars for independence in Latin America took place in Ecuador in 1822. San Martín retired from the battlefield and Bolívar led the final assault, liberating Peru and Upper Peru (Bolivia) with the assistance of his exceptional lieutenant, José Antonio de Sucre. The final defeat of the Spanish in South America came at the battle of Ayacucho in December 1824 in the Peruvian highlands.

Outline

- I. The first war for independence in Spanish America barely touched Peru.
 - A. As in Mexico, the Creole elites in Peru feared the specter of Indian uprisings and were reluctant to challenge Spanish authority.
 1. The liberation of Peru, the great Spanish stronghold in South America, would come from two directions: led by Simón Bolívar from the north and José de San Martín from the south.
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 3. San Martín retired from the battlefield and Bolívar led the final assault, liberating Peru and Upper Peru (Bolivia) with the assistance of his exceptional lieutenant, José Antonio de Sucre.
 4. The final defeat of the Spanish in South America came at the battle of Ayacucho in December 1824 in the Peruvian highlands.
 - B. Peru was the great prize in South America, the rich heartland of the Andean world.
 1. Along with Mexico, Peru was one of the two core regions in Spanish America.
 2. With a population of more than 1 million in 1800, the descendants of the Incas probably accounted for 60–65 percent of the population.
 3. In some ways, the racial and cultural divide in Peru and Mexico was greater than that in the slave societies of Brazil and the Caribbean.
 4. The Peruvian upper class was notorious for its conservatism and loyalty to the Crown and for its fear of unleashing a race war with the Indians.
 5. Although they had been eclipsed by the Mexican silver mines in the 18th century, the mines at Potosí in Upper Peru were still rich and productive.
 - C. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic crisis, Viceroy José Fernando de Abascal worked energetically and effectively to blunt any moves toward independence.
 1. He built up his armed forces and used them repeatedly across the region, and he countered every move toward constitutionalism and reform.
 2. A rebellion of Indians and Creoles broke out in the southern highlands, spreading from Cuzco to La Paz and Puno, in late 1814.
 3. The return of Fernando VII to the throne in 1814 and his rejection of the Constitution of 1812 reinforced the Abascal's authoritarian rule.
 - D. San Martín finally moved north from Chile in 1820 on the final stage of his strategy to liberate Spanish South America.
 1. He was assisted by one of the most colorful of all the figures of the wars for independence, the renegade British naval officer Thomas Cochrane, earl of Dundonald.
 2. In August 1820, Cochrane carried 4,500 troops to the coast of Peru, landing at Pisco, 150 miles south of Lima.
 3. San Martín followed a slow and cautious strategy that frustrated his supporters.
 4. Spanish forces eventually retreated from Lima into the mountains, and San Martín took control of the Peruvian capital. He declared Peru's independence on July 28, 1821.
 5. He was, however, unable to subdue the interior and defeat the mobile Spanish forces.

- II.** San Martín's failure to finish off the struggle in Peru led to one of the pivotal moments in the liberation of Spanish South America.
- A.** Both San Martín and Simón Bolívar coveted the strategic port of Guayaquil, Ecuador, and they each turned to claim it.
 - 1. This led to a historic meeting of the two principal figures of the wars—the Liberator and the Protector.
 - 2. Bolívar outmaneuvered his rival and entered Guayaquil two weeks ahead of San Martín.
 - 3. For several hours on July 26–27, 1822, the two met alone, with no witnesses to the conversations.
 - B.** San Martín withdrew, leaving the liberation of Peru in the hands of Bolívar. He died in 1850 at the age of 72, after a quarter century in exile.
- III.** Having cleared the field of his major rival, Simón Bolívar could now move to complete the liberation of Spanish South America.
- A.** In the words of one major historian, “Peru in 1823 was the problem child of the American revolution, repugnant to liberators and royalists alike.”
 - 1. Bolívar sent his trusted lieutenant, José Antonio de Sucre, into Peru in 1823.
 - 2. Bolívar arrived in September 1823 but fell deathly ill, possibly his first major bout with tuberculosis.
 - 3. At this very moment, events in Europe took a crucial turn, as absolutism reemerged in Spain and Portugal and threatened to reenergize the loyalist cause in Latin America.
 - B.** A series of crucial battles finally broke the back of royalist resistance in 1824.
 - 1. In August 1824, Bolívar defeated the royalist forces of José de Canterac at Junín after yet another epic march through the Andes.
 - 2. On December 9, 1824, Sucre conclusively defeated the royalist forces at Ayacucho, completing the liberation of Spanish South America.
 - 3. Sucre would move on to Upper Peru and liberated the new nation of Bolivia in the final battles of the Spanish American revolutions on April 1, 1825.
 - 4. With all of Spanish South America freed from Spanish control, the struggle now began to bring order and stability to the new nations.
 - C.** Simón Bolívar had many mistresses and lovers in his life.
 - 1. The beautiful Manuela Sáenz was the second great love of his life.
 - 2. Born in 1797, Manuela was strong-willed, beautiful, and 22 when she met Bolívar as he was about to turn 40.
 - 3. In September 1828, Santander and his allies tried to kill Bolívar; he was saved at the last minute by the intrepid Manuela, who was beaten badly by the attackers.
 - 4. In May 1830, Bolívar decided to leave and go into exile.
 - 5. On December 17, 1830, he died in Santa Marta at the age of 47.

Supplementary Reading:

Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, chapters 5 and 8.

Harvey, *Liberators*, chapters 34–39.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Why did Peru's central role as a core region make its liberation so difficult?
- 2. Why do you think San Martín left the war so quickly and so definitively?

Lecture Seventeen

Mexico—Race and Class Warfare

Scope: The war for Mexican independence took place in two stages. This lecture looks at the first stage, a race and class war that began in 1810. One of the two core regions of the Spanish American Empire, Mexico was rich in silver and Indian labor. A small elite of Spaniards (Creoles and Peninsulars) ruled over a large population of Indians and racially mixed peoples. Beginning in 1810, two priests, Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos, led an uprising of poor people, largely Indians, and threatened to annihilate the upper-class whites. This class and race war was the ultimate nightmare of Latin American elites, and both Creoles and Peninsulars closed ranks in Mexico to defeat the insurgency and restore order.

Outline

- I. Now that we have seen the wars for independence that liberated Spanish South America, we turn to the process of independence in Mexico and Central America.
 - A. The war for Mexican independence took place in two stages.
 1. This lecture looks at the first stage, a race and class war that began in 1810.
 2. One of the two core regions of the Spanish American Empire, Mexico was rich in silver and Indian labor.
 3. A small elite of Spaniards (Creoles and Peninsulars) ruled over a large population of Indians and racially mixed peoples.
 4. Beginning in 1810, two priests, Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos, led an uprising of poor people, largely Indians, and threatened to annihilate the upper-class whites.
 5. This class and race war was the ultimate nightmare of Latin American elites, and both Creoles and Peninsulars closed ranks in Mexico to defeat the insurgency and restore order.
 - B. Mexico was the richest colony of Spain, and its elites had more at stake in the struggle for independence than in any other colony in the Americas.
 1. Since the 16th century, its large Indian labor force and rich silver mines had produced great wealth for Spain and the colonial elites.
 2. With a population of some 6 million in 1800, the viceroyalty of New Spain contained one-third of all the inhabitants of Spanish America.
 3. By the end of the 18th century, Mexico provided Madrid with enormous profits and created the richest family fortunes in the Americas.
 4. At the same time, the masses suffered greatly through 10 major famines in the century before 1810.
 5. The Catholic Church had accumulated enormous wealth, primarily in landholdings and loans.
 - C. New Spain was the classic Spanish American colony, where several thousand Peninsular Spaniards ruled over a million Creoles, who ruled over 5 million Indians and *mestizos*.
 1. Creoles grew increasingly resentful of the small and powerful Peninsular elite and began to speak of greater autonomy by the 1790s.
 2. Much as it had been for the Haitian and Peruvian elites in the 1780s, the great nightmare of the Creoles was that a war against the metropolitan center might touch off a social and racial war.
- II. The first outbreak of revolution in Mexico has strong similarities with the French Revolution.
 - A. Famine and brutal treatment created a volatile peasantry, and an elite crisis opened the door for a radical social revolution.
 1. Spain's constant need for more taxes to pay for war with Britain prompted a drastic measure to confiscate assets of Creoles and the church in 1804.
 2. The Peninsular elite, fearing rebellion in the aftermath of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, staged a coup to assert control in 1808.
 3. This move produced powerful Creole anger but not yet a revolution.
 - B. The first wave of revolution was led by a parish priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.
 1. A Creole and the son of a hacienda manager, Hidalgo was conversant with the political and intellectual currents of the times.

2. In 1803, he became the parish priest in the town of Dolores in the Mexican north.
3. Along with some other local Creoles, he hatched a conspiracy in nearby Querétaro that was discovered by authorities.

III. Hidalgo triggered the war for Mexican independence on September 16, 1810.

- A. At mass on Sunday morning, Hidalgo called for rebellion with the so-called Grito (or “Cry”) de Dolores.
 1. In the coming weeks, some 60,000 peasants, primarily Indians, rallied to his call, armed chiefly with bows and arrows, lances, and machetes.
 2. Hidalgo’s call to seize the property of Europeans, abolish Indian tribute, and invoke the support of the Virgin of Guadalupe had enormous appeal to the poor masses.
 3. This wave of poor peasants converged on the mining center of Guanajuato in September 1810, brutally annihilating Creoles and Peninsulars.
- B. Hidalgo’s agrarian radicalism and the racial and social nature of the revolt alienated both Creoles and Peninsulars.
 1. His was a classic revolutionary movement of the masses, one that called for a complete transformation, not only of politics, but also of social and economic structures.
 2. Hidalgo was never able to attract more than a few hundred Creole supporters.
 3. The movement prompted a conservative reaction and the mobilization of military forces.
 4. After hesitating on the outskirts of Mexico City with some 80,000 men, Hidalgo was defeated in January 1811.
 5. Betrayed and ambushed, Hidalgo was captured and executed in March 1811.

IV. With the death of Hidalgo, the leadership of the rebellion passed to another parish priest, José María Morelos.

- A. Morelos was even more closely attuned to the life of the Mexican masses than Hidalgo.
 1. Born in 1765 in Valladolid, Michoacán (now named Morelia in his honor), Morelos came from a poor *mestizo* family.
 2. He joined the Hidalgo rebellion and began to organize troops in southern Mexico in late 1810.
- B. A staunch nationalist, he published a manifesto that was a curious mix of Enlightenment ideals and traditional Catholic cultural values.
 1. Morelos presented this document to a rebel congress at Chilpancingo in September 1813.
 2. His thought was radically egalitarian, devoutly Catholic, and fiercely nationalist.
 3. Unlike Hidalgo, Morelos tried very hard to rally the support of Creoles.
 4. Like Hidalgo, Morelos was too radical for most Creoles.
 5. His execution by firing squad on December 22, 1815, effectively ended the armed uprising begun by Hidalgo in September 1810.

Supplementary Reading:

Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, chapter 9.

Harvey, *Liberators*, chapters 40–42.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways is the rebellion in Mexico similar to the opening stages of the French Revolution?
2. Why do you think the experiences of Peru and Mexico were so different, given their similarities?

Lecture Eighteen

Mexico—Empire and Chaos

Scope: In the aftermath of the specter of social revolution and racial war raised by the Hidalgo and Morelos revolts, Spaniards and Creoles closed ranks in Mexico to preserve peace. As they had in 1810, events in Europe sparked the second war for independence. When the supporters of a liberal constitution triumphed in Spain in 1820, upheaval among the elites emerged. A so-called “conservative compromise” avoided bloodshed and brokered Mexican independence when the Spanish general, Agustín de Iturbide, came over to the side of independence in 1821. Crowned Emperor Agustín I, Iturbide hoped to govern over the old viceroyalty of New Spain as the new Mexican Empire. The Creoles in Central America, however, had their own ideas and quickly broke away, declaring the independence of the United Provinces of Central America. Iturbide was quickly deposed, and Mexico slid into a half century of political chaos.

Outline

- I. In the aftermath of the specter of social revolution and racial war raised by the Hidalgo and Morelos revolts, Spaniards and Creoles closed ranks in Mexico to preserve peace.
 - A. After the defeat of Hidalgo and Morelos, the royalists developed effective means to blunt the thrust of revolution.
 - 1. General Félix Calleja, who eventually became viceroy, created militia units for counterinsurgency campaigns.
 - 2. Calleja was very effective; he not only mobilized military might, but also created an unpopular but effective tax system to finance the war and clamped down on trade to maintain the Spanish commercial monopoly.
 - B. In January 1820, a liberal revolt in Spain forced Fernando VII to restore the Constitution of 1812 and convene a parliament (*cortes*).
 - 1. Fernando had gathered thousands of troops at Cádiz for a reconquest of Río de la Plata, many of them under the command of General Calleja.
 - 2. This new *cortes* was more radical in its liberalism than its predecessor in 1812, and it soon angered the powerful in Mexico.
 - 3. The Catholic Church in Mexico, in particular, felt threatened by the effort of liberals to strip it of property and influence.
 - 4. Many Creoles and Peninsulars in Mexico closed ranks against the new *cortes*.
 - C. The principal figure in Mexican independence was Agustín de Iturbide.
 - 1. Hardly the equal of Bolívar or San Martín, Iturbide is a tragic and weak figure.
 - 2. He was a model Mexican Creole: fearful of social revolution, devoutly Catholic, and nationalistic.
- II. Iturbide led the final stage of independence, but he was unable to maintain control of the movement.
 - A. The Spanish appointed Iturbide commander of the royalist army in the south in 1820.
 - 1. Although he was charged with defeating rebels led by Vicente Guerrero, he soon formulated a plan to join forces with them.
 - 2. On February 24, 1821, Iturbide issued his Plan de Iguala, a call for constitutional monarchy and the protection of “union, religion, and independence.”
 - 3. The plan was quickly supported by the church, the army, and the upper classes, as well as liberal Creoles.
 - 4. Within months, the royal government collapsed.
 - B. In May 1822, a congress pressured by the army proclaimed Iturbide as Emperor Agustín I, and he was crowned a hereditary monarch.
 - 1. Iturbide’s reign was short-lived, less than 10 months.
 - 2. Mexican independence was achieved and social revolution was averted.

- III. The independence of Central America is one of the least dramatic and least violent episodes in the age of revolution.
- A. As one of the backwaters of empire and a dependency of Mexico, independence came to Central America with little struggle or bloodshed.
 - 1. Central America had long been one of the most isolated regions of Spanish America.
 - 2. By the beginning of the 19th century, there were small but well-developed regional elites and identities in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.
 - 3. The economy of Central America was primarily subsistence and export agriculture with some small-scale mining.
 - B. The Creoles of Central America talked of independence even less than the Mexicans.
 - 1. The powerful elite families, especially in the dominant and populous Guatemala, were most concerned with issues of trade and how to stimulate it.
 - 2. They wanted improvements in transportation and other areas of infrastructure.
 - 3. Like the Mexican and Andean elites, they also had little interest in creating political conflict that might unleash the indigenous and poor masses.
 - C. José de Bustamante, president of the *audiencia* of Guatemala from 1811–1817, represented the last surge of Spanish absolutism.
 - 1. His experience was similar to that of General Félix Calleja in Mexico; the Constitution of 1812 complicated his efforts to maintain the old colonial system.
 - 2. Fernando VII attempted to appease rising liberal sentiment in the region by removing Bustamante. The region freely traded with the British by 1818.
 - 3. With the news of Iturbide's proclamation of independence, the Central Americans were compelled to respond.
 - 4. The newly arrived captain general, Gabino Gaínza, convoked the local notables on September 15, 1821, in Guatemala City.
 - 5. The other provinces of Central America now had to respond to the vote in Guatemala.
 - 6. In July 1823, a National Constituent Assembly declared the creation of the United Provinces of Central America.

Supplementary Reading:

Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, chapter 9.

Harvey, *Liberators*, chapters 40–42.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. In what ways did Spain botch its efforts to keep Mexico in the empire?
- 2. Why does the backwardness of Central America make its independence so seemingly simple?

Lecture Nineteen

Brazil: A Royal Revolution?

Scope: The path to independence in Brazil was similar to that of Spanish America but with important differences. Rather than fall under the control of Napoleon, the Braganza royal family fled Portugal in late 1807 and took up residence in Rio de Janeiro. For 13 years, the monarchy ruled its vast empire from Brazil. King João VI elevated Brazil to the status of a kingdom, equal to Portugal, diffusing most desires for separation and independence. When João returned to Portugal in 1821, Brazil began to experience a process similar to that seen in Spanish America in 1808. The crown prince, Pedro, remained in Brazil, assumed the leadership of the movement to separate from Portugal, and declared Brazil's independence in 1822. With the help of the British mercenary Lord Cochrane, Pedro quickly consolidated control of the new country, avoiding significant bloodshed.

Outline

- I. The path to independence in Brazil was similar to that of Spanish America but with important differences.
 - A. Rather than fall under the control of Napoleon, the Braganza royal family fled Portugal in late 1807 and took up residence in Rio de Janeiro.
 - 1. Crown Prince João elevated Brazil to the status of a kingdom, equal to Portugal, defusing the desires of most for separation and independence.
 - 2. When João returned to Portugal in 1821, Brazil began to experience a process similar to that seen in Spanish America in 1808.
 - 3. The crown prince, Pedro, remained in Brazil, assumed the leadership of the movement to separate from Portugal, and declared Brazil's independence in 1822.
 - 4. Brazil became an empire with a monarchy and an aristocracy, a unique position in the history of the Americas.
 - B. The departure of the court and royal family from Lisbon in November 1807 was a memorable and chaotic scene.
 - 1. Some 10,000 people crowded the docks as the French army approached the city.
 - 2. They were escorted out of the harbor and to Brazil by British warships.
 - 3. In January 1808, the fleet arrived in Salvador, in the captaincy of Bahia, the old capital of the colony.
 - C. From 1808 to 1821, João ruled the Portuguese empire from Rio de Janeiro.
 - 1. Ignoring the pleas of the people of Salvador to remain there, the entourage sailed to Rio in late February to take up residence.
 - 2. João liked Rio and worked to transform the city into a sort of "tropical Versailles," complete with palaces, museums, and elaborate royal rituals.
 - 3. On December 17, 1815, the 81st birthday of the demented Queen Maria, João issued a decree making Brazil a kingdom, equal to Portugal in its status.
 - 4. The Brazilian elites were in a position unlike that of any of the colonial elites in North or South America.
 - 5. In contrast to what we have seen in Spanish America, the division between Peninsular Portuguese and those born in Brazil was not very wide or profound.
 - 6. Not everyone, however, was satisfied with the royal presence in the new kingdom or with the monarchy.
 - 7. In 1798, mulatto artisans in the northeastern province of Bahia also plotted to create an independent republic.
- II. The "war" for independence in Brazil was brief and relatively bloodless.
 - A. With the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1814 and 1815, pressure mounted for João to return to Lisbon.
 - 1. Many of the Portuguese elite did return with the end of French occupation, but João preferred to remain in Brazil.
 - 2. As in Spain, a liberal revolt shook Portugal in 1820, and a new *cortes* took power and began to draw up plans for a constitutional monarchy.
 - B. Pedro I is one of the more fascinating figures in the age of revolution.
 - 1. Born in 1798, he was just nine when the family fled to Brazil.

2. Never very interested in books or formal education, he loved the bohemian life and women.
3. He married the German princess Leopoldina.
- C. When João returned to Portugal in 1821, Brazil began to experience a process similar to that seen in Spanish America in 1808.
 1. In 1821 and 1822, the new *cortes* asserted its power and attempted to put in place a liberal constitutional regime.
 2. Pedro was wise enough to join the move toward independence rather than fight it.
 3. Pedro was assisted in his decisions in this period by the Andrada brothers—Martim Francisco, Antonio Carlos, and José Bonifácio.
 4. In early 1822, the *cortes* demanded that the crown prince return to Portugal.
 5. In early September 1822, Pedro declared Brazil's independence from Portugal.
- D. The challenge in Brazil was not to defeat the Portuguese so much as it was a struggle to hold the regions of Brazil together through the process of independence and beyond.
 1. In one sense, the Brazilian experience was similar to the confederation of states on the coast of British North America.
 2. Brazil was a string of settlements, almost all of them stretched across 1,500 miles of Atlantic coastline, from the Amazon to the Rio de la Plata.
- E. The small Portuguese force in Rio de Janeiro quickly retired from the scene, removing the immediate military threat.
 1. The small Portuguese fleet in the northeast was the only other serious challenge that Portugal could mount to confront Pedro's call for independence.
 2. This fleet would be defeated by the astute and daring tactics of Thomas Cochrane.
- III. Perhaps more successfully than any other Latin American colony, Brazil negotiated the path to independence with little bloodshed and minimal social upheaval.
 - A. The Brazilians had the great advantage of having a member of the royal family leading the move to independence.
 1. In December 1822, Pedro was crowned constitutional emperor and perpetual defender of Brazil.
 2. He would rule the empire of Brazil until 1831, when he abdicated in favor of his young son, Pedro II, who would rule Brazil until 1889.
 3. Under the two Pedros, Brazil experienced a political stability that was rare in the Americas in the 19th century.
 - B. Pedro I left Brazil in 1831 to reenter the civil war that broke out in Portugal between liberals and absolutists in the 1820s.
 1. His mother, Carlota Joaquina, and his brother, Miguel, led the forces of absolutism, and Pedro led those of the liberals.
 2. The liberals triumphed in 1834, and Pedro placed his daughter Maria on the throne. Within months, he died, probably of tuberculosis, at the age of 36.
 - C. Perhaps more impressive than political stability was the ability of the Brazilian elites to maintain social peace.
 1. The Brazilian elites managed to avoid the racial and social warfare that so ravaged such countries as Haiti and Mexico.
 2. As in so many countries of Latin America in the aftermath of independence, war brought political independence but little social change.
 3. Brazil's "royal revolution" was perhaps the most expertly managed process of independence in all of the Americas during the age of revolution.

Supplementary Reading:

Macaulay, *Dom Pedro*.

Barman, *Brazil*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the presence of the Portuguese royal family in Rio defuse the grievances of Brazilian elites?
2. In what ways did monarchy provide stability and continuity for the newly independent Brazilian nation?

Lecture Twenty

Failed Movements in the Caribbean

Scope: We have now seen about a dozen cases of successful wars for independence from Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal. Some of the American colonies, however, did not achieve independence in the age of revolution. Some chose not to rebel, or the uprisings were weak and relatively easily crushed. In this lecture, we will look at Cuba and Puerto Rico, two cases of colonies in Spanish America that failed to achieve their independence in the age of revolutions. We will also look at the troubled case of the Dominican Republic, a nation that had to fight for its independence several times, against Spain, then Haiti, to achieve its independence. These cases remind us of the contingency of the processes we have been examining, that independence was not inevitable and that despite the general patterns, each case is unique.

Outline

- I.** We have now seen about a dozen cases of successful wars for independence from Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.
 - A.** Some of the American colonies, however, did not achieve independence in the age of revolution.
 1. Some chose not to rebel or the uprisings were weak and relatively easily crushed.
 2. In this lecture, we will look at Cuba and Puerto Rico, two cases of colonies in Spanish America that failed to achieve their independence in the age of revolutions.
 3. We will also look at the troubled case of the Dominican Republic, a nation that had to fight for its independence several times, against Spain, then Haiti.
 4. These cases remind us of the contingency of the processes we have been examining, that independence was not inevitable and that despite the general patterns, each case is unique.
 - B.** In all three cases, the delayed process of independence would profoundly shape the creation of these new island nations and would-be nations.
 1. All three would fall under the growing and profound influence of the United States.
 2. In many ways, none of the three colonies was able to emerge as a fully sovereign nation in the century after the other Latin American wars for independence had ended.
- II.** Slavery and geography directly contributed to the failure of independence movements in Cuba and Puerto Rico.
 - A.** Much like the U.S. South and Brazil, the elites in the slave societies of the Caribbean were reluctant to pursue wars that might trigger another Haitian Revolution.
 1. Both Cuba and Puerto Rico had emerged as rich sugar and tobacco plantation economies in the 18th century.
 2. Cuba had a population of 170,000 in the 1770s; blacks and mulattos accounted for about 40 percent of the population, and about two-thirds of them were slaves.
 - B.** Geography also shaped the destiny of the main Spanish islands in the Caribbean.
 1. By the mid-16th century, Mexico, Central America, and the Andes had become the wealth-producing heartland of the empire.
 2. Since the 17th century, the West Indian islands had been a battleground for contending imperial powers in the Americas.
 3. Combined with the rise of slavery and slavocracy, the strategic locations of the islands helped keep the three colonies “ever-faithful isles.”
 - C.** The first great shock to the colonial system in Cuba was the British capture of Havana in 1762–1763.
 1. Spain got Cuba back in the Peace of Paris in 1763 but had to give up Florida in exchange.
 2. In the twists and turns of the imperial wars and changing alliances of the late 18th century, foreign shipping, both legal and illegal, expanded dramatically.
 - D.** The few who chose to speak of serious reform or autonomy in Cuba and Puerto Rico were quickly suppressed in the early 19th century.
 1. As in the rest of Latin America, the winds of the Enlightenment also blew through Cuba and Puerto Rico.
 2. The Haitian Revolution shook the elites in the West Indies profoundly.

- E. The Napoleonic invasion and the imprisonment of Fernando VII unleashed the same forces in Cuba and Puerto Rico as they did in the rest of Spanish America.
 - 1. As war raged in Spain, the Cubans and Puerto Ricans discussed options, called councils, and formed juntas.
 - 2. The young United States had acquired Louisiana in 1803 and Florida in 1819.
 - 3. The wars on the mainland also produced a steady flow of loyalists seeking refuge in Cuba and Puerto Rico.
 - 4. At the same time, conspiracies emerged that frightened Creoles and Peninsulars alike.
 - 5. When the liberals regained power in Spain in 1820, the events touched off yet another intense discussion about the island's future.
 - 6. As the mainland colonies of Spain achieved their independence, the government of Fernando VII managed to hold on to Cuba and Puerto Rico.
- III. The Dominican Republic is perhaps the most complex case of all the wars for independence in the Americas in the 19th century.
- A. The site of the original Spanish colonial settlements in the Americas, the island of Hispaniola declined soon after the initial conquest.
 - 1. It was supplanted by Cuba as the great administrative and commercial center in the Caribbean.
 - 2. Since the late 17th century, Santo Domingo's history has been forged in a tense relationship with Haiti to the west.
 - B. The outbreak of the Haitian Revolution initiated a half century of struggle in Santo Domingo.
 - 1. From 1791–1803, the French, English, and Spanish fought over the entire island.
 - 2. The junta in Seville reclaimed the territory in the name of Spain when the French left.
 - 3. The Haitians' principal concern for many years was regaining control of the entire island to facilitate their defense against another French invasion.
 - 4. Juan Pablo Duarte led the fight for an independent Dominican Republic and is today recognized as its national hero.
 - 5. In the aftermath of independence, these *caudillos* ("dictators") did not believe that the new nation could survive without foreign protection.
 - C. The Spanish West Indies—Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo—serve as counter-examples to the successes in the wars for independence across the Americas.
 - 1. First, they clearly demonstrate that despite the converging forces of intellectual, political, and economic ferment, independence in colonial America in the early 19th century was neither inevitable nor unavoidable.
 - 2. Second, geography and size matter.
 - 3. Finally, the absence of charismatic and dynamic political leadership also matters, and the colonies were unable to produce their own liberators in the early 19th century.
 - 4. In Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo, the "man and the hour" would not meet in the 1810s and 1820s.
 - 5. Unlike the mainland, the island colonies of Spanish America did not fare well in the age of revolution.

Supplementary Reading:

Knight, *The Caribbean*, chapter 6.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Why is geography so important in the history of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic?
- 2. Why do you think the history of the Dominican Republic is so fractious and complicated?

Lecture Twenty-One

The British West Indies and Canada

Scope: The British West Indies and Canada provide us with two more counterpoints to the successful wars of revolution. The 13 colonies were unusual in their revolt against British colonial rule. Canada and the British possessions in the West Indies did not seek independence. Both regions would experience a gradual transition to independence. They present fascinating comparisons to both British North America and Latin America. In many ways, their social and economic structures looked similar to those of the U.S. South and Latin America, yet they would remain colonies for another century and a half. In this lecture, we will focus on Canada and the British West Indies as yet another set of paths in the age of revolution.

Outline

- I. The British West Indies and Canada provide us with two more counterpoints to the successful revolutions and wars for independence.
 - A. The British began to acquire colonies in the Caribbean in the mid-17th century.
 1. Although British privateers (or pirates) had been operating in the region since the mid-16th century, it was not until the 1620s that England began to establish colonies.
 2. At the same time as English colonists began settling in New England, they also began to occupy Barbados and some of the smaller islands of the eastern Caribbean.
 3. In 1655, a British expedition took Jamaica from the Spanish.
 4. Over the next century and a half, England would acquire many islands in the eastern Caribbean, Guiana on the coast of South America, and several other footholds on the mainland around the Caribbean.
 - B. In the 17th and 18th centuries, these West Indian colonies developed very much like the U.S. South.
 1. The population of the British West Indies in 1800 was small, with some 60,000 whites, 15,000 free blacks and mulattos, and 500,000 slaves spread across many islands.
 2. Most of the islands became engines for the production of sugar through slave labor.
 3. As it had been in Brazil and Cuba, the fear of whites was the threat of slave uprisings.
- II. The islands of the British West Indies did not follow the path of Haiti or the 13 colonies.
 - A. The white colonial assemblies in the islands supported the ideals of the North American rebels, but they refused to join the rebellion.
 1. The success of the American revolutionaries marked a watershed for the British West Indies.
 2. The negative economic consequences of the American Revolution were counterbalanced in the 1790s by the positive consequences of the Haitian Revolution (for these colonies, that is).
 3. Unlike the United States, Britain chose to emancipate slaves in its empire in 1833, thus defusing the divisive issue that would produce so much bloodshed in Haiti and the United States.
 4. Many West Indian planters bitterly opposed the move to emancipation in the early 19th century.
 - B. Although the colonies in the West Indies remained British beyond the age of revolution, their role in the empire declined and diminished.
 1. At the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, the empire entered into a new phase, what historians often call the *Second Empire*.
 2. The many British colonies in the Caribbean developed a variety of political systems.
 - C. When independence came for these islands, it was in the years after World War II.
 1. Avoiding explosions of disaffected Creoles, Indians, or slaves, the British had managed to defuse tension and delay independence for more than a century and a half.
 2. The Creole elites had access to trade and, increasingly, self-rule.
 3. They followed the path of evolution, not revolution.
- III. Canada is an even more interesting counter-example than the British West Indies.
 - A. As we saw at the beginning of these lectures, both the British and the French moved into the northernmost regions of North America in the 16th and 17th centuries.

1. The French had a strong but small colony, New France, in the region that today is Quebec.
 2. The British took the maritime province of Nova Scotia from the French in 1713 and New France (Quebec) in 1763.
 3. The British allowed the French-speaking peoples of Quebec to remain Catholics and to use French civil law; further, Britain recognized the use of the French language.
 4. In effect, it created a sort of foreign enclave within British North America.
- B.** The loyalist migrations into Nova Scotia and Canada transformed the British colony after 1776.
1. In 1783 alone, the British evacuated more than 30,000 loyalists to the maritime province of Nova Scotia.
 2. In the 1790s, the growth of the population in British North America forced the Crown to divide the old French colony in two.
 3. Canada was less populated and less economically developed than its southern neighbor.
 4. During the War of 1812, the United States invaded Canada but was unable to make much headway.
- C.** Armed revolts erupted in both upper and lower Canada in the 1830s, forcing the British government to act.
1. In Upper Canada, the revolt in 1837 was led by William Lyon Mackenzie.
 2. In Lower Canada, Louis Joseph Papineau tried to mobilize farmers in a rebellion, also in 1837.
 3. These failed rebellions prompted the British government to act and to avoid the mistakes of the 1770s.
 4. In the 1860s, the Canadians took the final step toward self-government.

IV. What are we to conclude from these two cases?

- A.** First, we see that war and revolution were not the only paths to self-rule and independence in the American colonies.
1. Although Canada, the 13 colonies, and the British West Indies all formed parts of the same colonial empire in the Americas, they followed three different paths.
 2. All were influenced by the forces of modernization and change in the 18th century, but only the colonials in the 13 colonies chose to break from the empire.
 3. Slavery and the need for imperial protection, as well as direct access to the British economy, helped keep West Indian planters loyal.
 4. Very high numbers of loyalists, and the influx of even more in the 1780s, helped hold Canada back.
- B.** Second, both Canada and the British West Indies benefited politically from the American Revolution.
1. The success of the rebels in the 13 colonies ultimately made the British Crown and government more attentive to the remaining American colonies.
 2. In the decades after 1783, the British chose to allow greater local autonomy and self-rule.
 3. The two major grievances of the Creole elites across the Americas—lack of political autonomy and free trade—had been achieved to a large degree in these regions by the 1840s.
 4. Canada and the British West Indies evolved out of colonialism and managed to avoid war and revolution.

Supplementary Reading:

Knight, *The Caribbean*, chapters 6–7.

Hamshire, *The British in the Caribbean*, chapters 8–10.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways were the British West Indies similar to the islands of the Hispanic Caribbean?
2. What do you think were the most important differences between the British West Indies and the United States?

Lecture Twenty-Two

The Strange Case of Paraguay

Scope: Paraguay is perhaps the most unusual country in Latin America in the 19th century. Isolated deep in the interior of South America, it was largely populated through the creation of Jesuit missions in the 17th and 18th centuries. Ostensibly under the control of the viceroyalty of La Plata at the beginning of the 19th century, it was probably the most racially, culturally, and linguistically mixed area in Spanish America. When the first set of wars for independence break out in the La Plata region in 1808, Paraguay is largely forgotten, and a strong man, José Gaspar de Francia, arises as the authoritarian leader of independence and the new nation. Unlike the rest of Latin America, in the aftermath of independence, Paraguay would turn inward and isolate itself from the outside world until the mid-19th century.

Outline

- I. We will close this survey of the age of revolution in the Americas with the case of Paraguay. It is perhaps the most unusual country in the Americas in the 19th century.
 - A. Paraguay was in one of the most remote parts of the Spanish Empire in the Americas; its destiny was partially shaped by this geography.
 1. More than 1,000 miles upriver from where the Rio de la Plata empties into the South Atlantic, the Jesuits established an extensive mission system in the region in the 17th century to escape the predations of slave hunters.
 2. The few Spanish colonists and numerous Guaraní Indians intermixed, producing a truly bilingual and bicultural society.
 - B. The Jesuits dominated the region until their expulsion in the 1760s.
 1. The Treaty of Madrid in 1750 established the Missions (Paraguay) as a Spanish possession and drew the boundaries with Portuguese Brazil.
 2. The colonial economy consisted primarily of subsistence agriculture and some exports, especially a strong tea, *yerba mate*.
 3. At the periphery of one of the most peripheral viceregal centers, Paraguay had a long history of relative local autonomy.
- II. The struggle for independence in Paraguay was one of the shortest and most painless in all of the Americas.
 - A. As the other, more central colonies had, Paraguay felt the impact of the reassertion of imperial authority in the last quarter of the 18th century.
 1. Peninsulars dominated commerce, and the *cabildo* was ardently royalist.
 2. Taxation deterred the development of trade and exports.
 - B. The Argentines forced the issue of independence.
 1. After the May 1810 upheaval in Buenos Aires, an open meeting of more than 200 prominent citizens in Asunción chose to support the Council of Regency in Spain.
 2. Manuel Belgrano led an Argentine force into Paraguay to “liberate” the people.
 3. Led by Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, local elites declared their independence from Spain and Argentina on May 17, 1811.
 4. For the next two years, a junta tried to establish a national government.
- III. Francia emerged as a powerful leader in 1814 and would rule Paraguay as a dictator until his death in 1840.
 - A. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia is one of the most interesting and controversial figures in Latin American history.
 1. Born in Asunción in 1766, he attended the University of Córdoba (Argentina) and received a doctorate in theology in 1785.
 2. Under the influence of Rousseau, Francia became a freethinking lawyer (certainly an interesting shift for a man trained in theology).
 3. He was described by a British traveler at the time as about 5 feet, 10 inches tall and very thin, almost cadaverous.

- B. Usually described as austere, frugal, honest, xenophobic, and cruel, Francia developed a negative reputation with outsiders and generations of historians.
 - 1. Beginning with his contemporaries and continuing with the liberal historians of the late 19th century, Francia was portrayed as evil, despotic, bloodthirsty, and an enemy of all modern progress and civilization.
 - 2. I should also mention, here, a wonderful novel about Francia, *Yo, el Supremo* (*I, the Supreme*) by Augusto Roa Bastos.
 - C. Francia emerged as the only man capable of taking control of events in the process of independence.
 - 1. The three-man junta formed in 1811 gradually became two men, when Francia and Colonel Fulgencio Yegros were named co-consuls of the Republic of Paraguay.
 - 2. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia would rule Paraguay as “El Supremo” from 1814 until his death at the age of 74 in 1840.
 - 3. Although seen by many historians as a conservative because he refused to open up Paraguay to the outside world, Francia systematically dismantled the traditional colonial power structure.
 - 4. He destroyed the power of the landed class, the most powerful group in any Latin American society.
 - D. Yet the move that has made Francia probably more maligned than any other Latin American *caudillo* in the 19th century was his effort to isolate Paraguay from the rest of the world.
 - 1. Although he initially tried to engage in some trade with other countries, his enemies in the La Plata basin closed off the river to his goods, denying him trade with the outside world.
 - 2. Part of Francia’s bad reputation comes from his treatment of the unfortunate foreigners who did pass his way.
 - 3. Francia died on September 20, 1840.
 - 4. He would be succeeded by Carlos Antonio López, followed by his son, Francisco Solano López, two more dictators who would dominate Paraguay until 1870.
- IV. The strongest argument in favor of a positive assessment of Francia is the self-sufficiency of Paraguay in the early 19th century.
- A. Although the evidence is hotly debated and the meager statistics available are not crystal clear, it does seem that Paraguayans produced enough to feed, clothe, and house themselves adequately.
 - 1. As we will see in Lecture Twenty-Four, all the other countries in the Americas turned outward and sought to develop exports in the 19th century.
 - 2. Paraguay, because of its isolation, did not build roads, railways, and the other tools of 19th-century modernity.
 - 3. Instead, it seems that Paraguayans, although poor, did not starve and certainly did not develop the enormous socioeconomic inequities that characterized colonial Latin America and intensified in the 19th century.
 - B. In spite of the revisionist efforts of some historians, Francia and Paraguay are still generally negatively portrayed in the standard textbooks.
 - 1. This much is certain: José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia chose to buck the trend throughout Latin America in the age of revolution.
 - 2. At a time when independence signified an opening to the outside world and greater trade, Francia closed his country to the outside world and turned the country inward.

Supplementary Reading:

Lynch, *Spanish American Revolutions*, chapter 3.

White, *Paraguay’s Autonomous Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Paraguay’s isolation shape its process of independence?
2. Was isolation such a bad thing for Paraguay in the 19th century?

Lecture Twenty-Three

Revolutions Made and Unmade

Scope: In this lecture, we return to the “big picture” of the age of revolutions. We look at the general processes across all of the Americas and compare all the revolutions. In particular, the lecture focuses on how the differing colonial traditions (political, economic, and cultural) shaped the revolutionary paths and the outcomes of the wars for independence. We take a hard look at just how revolutionary these wars were during this extraordinary period of upheaval.

Outline

- I. In this lecture, we return to the “big picture” of the age of revolutions and to larger comparative and theoretical issues.
 - A. Now that we have seen successful wars for independence in more than a dozen nations, and failed movements in others, we will focus on the comparative features of all these colonies and nations.
 1. In particular, I want to emphasize the larger common processes that take shape across all of the Americas, from Canada to Argentina, in the era from the 1770s to the 1820s.
 2. I also want to stress the connections with what I have referred to as the larger Atlantic world.
 3. At the same time, I will draw out the important differences in the nations that emerge (and do not emerge) across the Americas.
 4. The structure for this comparative analysis will be organized around three key areas: politics, economics, and culture.
 5. I will first highlight the power of colonial traditions in shaping the processes of independence, then turn to the importance of the contingencies of the moment of revolt.
 6. I also take a hard look at just how revolutionary these wars were during this extraordinary period of upheaval.
 - B. We began this course with a discussion of the main themes of revolution and wars for independence.
 1. As I have emphasized, there was a broad range of cases, from those countries that truly experienced a fundamental transformation to those that entered into nationhood with little change.
 2. We have also seen that not all colonies rebelled against the metropolis and others rose up in revolt but failed to achieve independence.
 3. In one of the great “moments” of nation-building in the modern world, 19 new nations emerged in the Americas, but even more colonies continued their subservience to European powers.
 - C. Before I engage in the larger comparative analysis, let us briefly recap what we have seen.
 1. We began by looking at the common origins of the profound shifts that began to take place in the Atlantic world in the 18th century.
 2. We then turned to the American Revolution of the 1770s as the first in the series, followed by the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s.
 3. After these two great revolutions, we shifted our attention to Spanish America and focused on the more specific forces of change in the Spanish Empire.
 4. The next section of the course then concentrated on the wars for independence in Spanish and Portuguese America (about half the course).
 5. In the final set of cases, we saw that revolution and independence were not inevitable in this era.
- II. The differing colonial traditions across the Americas play an enormously powerful role in both the processes and the outcomes of the wars for independence.
 - A. The political systems and cultures of the American colonies by the 1770s vary in important ways.
 1. There are three major colonial political regimes in the Americas by the 1770s: British, Iberian, and French.
 2. Within each of these major regimes, there are also variations that shape the trajectories of colonial revolts, especially in the British and Iberian Empires.

3. In the broadest strokes, the already limited and constitutional monarchy of the British Empire had placed British America on a path distinct from the colonies of Iberoamerica with their strongly centralized absolutist monarchies.
 4. In all the cases we have seen, however, whatever the political culture, colonial elites (what I call Creoles) have emerged by the end of the 18th century.
- B.** The economic systems in the three major colonial empires had also developed in different ways by the end of the 18th century.
1. Although all three systems were closed and jealously self-contained, the trading networks within the British Empire were much more open and vibrant than those in the Latin American colonies.
 2. The trading systems within Spanish, Portuguese, and French America were much more controlled from the metropolis, and trade among the colonies was highly restricted.
 3. The result had a powerful impact on the shape of colonial elites and their position in the aftermath of independence.
 4. New England, for example, had developed a vibrant and dynamic commercial and shipping system by the 1770s that would make it a strong competitor with the Europeans in the immediate aftermath of independence.
 5. Location, geography, and climate also mattered.
- C.** Culture is the most slippery and difficult theme to analyze, and it obviously overlaps with politics and economics.
1. All the colonies in the 18th century were paternalistic, hierarchical, and built on privilege and inequality.
 2. These values were much more ingrained and pronounced in Latin American than they were in Anglo America.
 3. The ways in which these cultural values were challenged in the wars for independence were also quite different.
- III.** Although the colonial heritage of each colony had an enormously important role in setting the stage for rebellion and war, we cannot overlook the equally important role of the contingencies of the moment of rebellion.
- A.** The most important of these contingencies was the interplay of the key social groups in the “moment” of upheaval.
1. The various elites, slaves, Indians, and lower classes in each colony responded to the collapse of the colonial regimes in different ways.
 2. At times, in colonies with similar colonial traditions and social structures, the results of warfare were very different because of the complicated and differing interactions of the key social groups.
 3. In slaveholding societies, for example, the processes and outcomes were often different from British North America, to Cuba, to Brazil.
- B.** Finally, one cannot avoid the powerful contingencies of leadership.
1. Individuals do make a difference, and the quality of leadership in the movements plays a fundamental role in the processes of independence and its aftermath.
 2. Having a George Washington, a Simón Bolívar, or a Bernardo O’Higgins shows that individuals can matter as much as structures and long-term patterns and traditions.
 3. I am not suggesting that the wars for independence would not have taken place in these countries without these leaders.
- C.** The paths taken in the age of revolution were the results of the convergence of a number of key factors and forces.
1. First, there was the impact of the long-term processes of modernization: the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the French Revolution.
 2. These common forces of change produced different explosions depending on wide variations in: social and racial structures, political cultures, economic systems, the timing of the wars, and the quality of the leadership that emerged in each region.
 3. I hope my series of lectures has persuaded you that there are clearly patterns that allow us to speak of this period and region as a coherent unit of study.

4. In short, I hope that it is clear that there was, in fact, a period from the 1770s to the 1820s, across all of the Americas, that we can call the “age of revolution.”

Supplementary Reading:

Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution*.

Graham, *Independence in Latin America*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways do politics and culture overlap and intersect?
2. How would you weight the differing roles of structures and individual leadership in the processes of independence?

Lecture Twenty-Four

The Aftermath of Independence

Scope: In this final lecture, we come back to a larger vision of the Americas in the aftermath of the wars for independence. The lecture begins with the key concepts of revolution and wars for independence and reemphasizes the complex nature of the different wars for independence, as well as their common patterns. Within a half century, from the 1770s to the 1820s, colonial empires crumbled across the Americas, from New England to Patagonia, yet independence did not come for all the European colonies in the Americas. Finally, the lecture summarizes the legacies of the wars and revolutions, in particular, comparing the United States in roughly 1850 with Latin America. We close this lecture series with some reflections on the legacies of these wars for the many peoples of the Americas.

Outline

- I. In this final lecture, we come back to a larger vision of the Americas in the aftermath of the wars for independence.
 - A. I want to reemphasize and reinforce the complex nature of the different wars for independence, as well as their common patterns.
 - 1. All these colonies emerged out of a common process of conquest and colonization in the century and a half after the momentous voyage of Columbus in 1492.
 - 2. All were paternalistic and hierarchically structured, with economies geared toward exports to and profits for the mother countries.
 - 3. Many were built on the exploitation of unfree labor, whether African slaves or indigenous peoples.
 - B. Yet, as we saw in the last lecture, the processes and outcomes were very different across 19 new nations.
- II. Let us turn, then, to the legacies of the wars for independence across the Americas.
 - A. Across all of the Americas, perhaps the central political dilemma was the nature of the relationship between a central government and states or provinces.
 - 1. The United States in 1850 had emerged as a vibrant and dynamic new nation, one with a strong head start on the nations of Latin America.
 - 2. Yet this system was torn between the full realization of its democratic and republican principles and the continuing growth and importance of slavery in the U.S. South.
 - 3. Already by 1850, this new nation had emerged as a growing economic and political force in the Atlantic world.
 - 4. By 1850, this young nation had already embarked on an aggressive process of expansion and conquest that put it in conflict with its newly independent Latin American neighbors.
 - 5. This expansion and the creation of new states heightened the central tension in the U.S. political system. Slavery would become the issue that ultimately created an unsolvable impasse that could only be settled by war.
 - 6. I emphasize this ongoing conflict in the United States after the American Revolution to highlight the extent to which the United States faced the same problems as the rest of the Americas.
 - B. Latin America in 1850 was just a generation removed from the wars for independence.
 - 1. The 18 new nations of Latin America moved into the process of nation-building following many different paths.
 - 2. The great political divide in Latin America in the 19th century was between Liberals and Conservatives (with capital letters).
 - 3. Some nations—such as Brazil and Chile—fairly quickly achieved political stability, which allowed them to begin the complex process of turning new states into true nations.
 - 4. At the other extreme, such countries as Mexico would experience decades of political instability and could not begin the process of nation-building for one or two generations.
 - 5. These are the extremes, but all the nations of Latin America would grapple with two principal problems in the early years of independence.

6. Latin America, then, became independent later than the United States, started with a weaker economic base, and fell even farther behind in the 19th century.
 7. All the new nations of Latin America would eventually enter an Atlantic economic system dominated by England and, to a lesser degree, by the United States.
- C. These multiple paths all point to the importance of the structural conditions developed during centuries of colonialism and the contingencies of the moments of rebellion.
1. This important point brings us back to where we started this course.
 2. War and revolution are powerful forces that are capable of transforming societies, but their impact is never equal or predictable.
 3. The history of this period, from the 1770s to the 1820s, shares common traits because all these nations had their roots in a common process of conquest and colonization.
 4. The wars for independence across the Americas also led to greater fragmentation and a diminished sense of unity.
- D. Let me come back now, at the end of these lectures, to another story about two men.
1. One is today known as the “Father of Texas,” Stephen F. Austin, and the other we have already introduced, the Mexican general and *caudillo* Antonio López de Santa Anna.
 2. Why focus on these two men? Because they illustrate the end of one era and the beginning of another in the history of the Americas.
 3. Santa Anna is the extreme example of the *caudillo*, the man on horseback, who plagued Latin America in the 19th century.
 4. Austin exemplifies the expansionist United States in the first half of the 19th century.
 5. By the 1830s, with the wars for independence in Latin America barely completed, the first independent nation in the Americas, the United States, had already begun to encroach on its American neighbors.
 6. The age of revolution was ending, and the age of U.S. expansionism was about to begin.

Supplementary Reading:

Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution*.

Graham, *Independence in Latin America*.

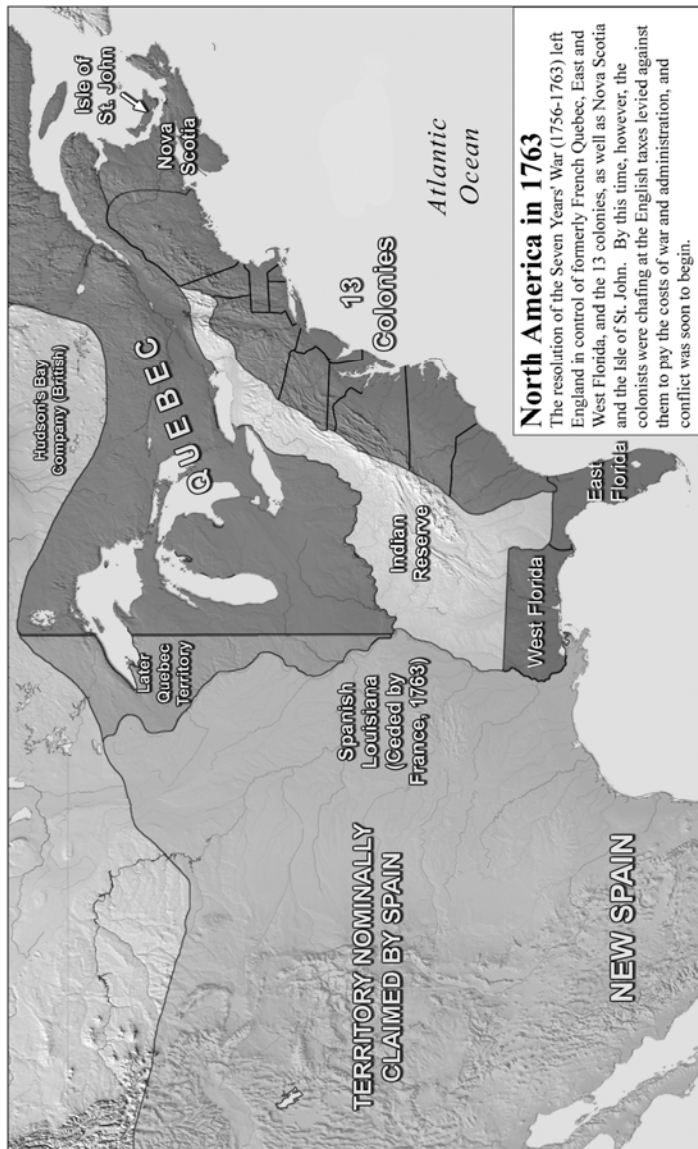
Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think the American Revolution was so much more transformative than most of the other colonial rebellions in the Americas?
2. Why is the role of England so important in understanding the process of nation-building in the first decades of independence?



European Colonial Possessions: 1750

On the eve of the era of independence, Spain, France, Britain, and Portugal had firmly established themselves in the New World. Spain's empire stretched from the southwest of the United States today down to Argentina. Spanish South America, which had already begun to divide into two viceroyalties, New Granada in the north and Peru in the south, would later add the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata in what today is Argentina. The Portuguese, while nominally claiming the territory of Brazil, had settled mainly on the coast and established plantation agriculture. France claimed areas of North American territory, but settled sparsely in New France. Their most important possession was St. Domingue in the Caribbean (see later map.) Britain's 13 colonies flourished through trade, and Britain had also expanded greatly into the Caribbean.

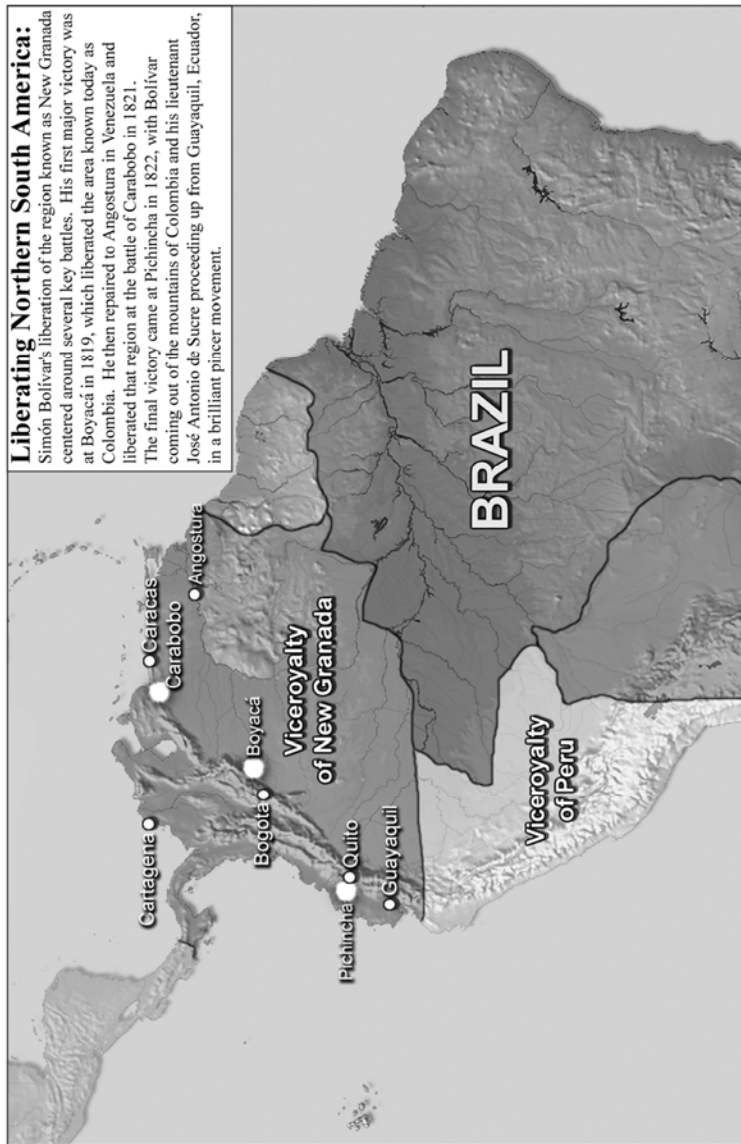




Spanish and Portuguese America in 1776:

In 1776, Spain added its last viceroyalty to South America, the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, encompassing what is now Argentina and Bolivia. The region that today is Uruguay was contested between Spain and Portugal, and while a 1750 treaty had placed the territory within Spain's control, it would be a disputed area into the 19th century. The Missions region was also now under the supervision of La Plata, but was largely neglected as a fringe area. New Spain still technically encompassed Central America, though the latter was largely autonomous and ruled from Guatemala. The core regions of the empire remained in Mexico (New Spain) and the Viceroyalty of Peru, while New Granada and Chile were less important. Brazil, in this period, remained under Portuguese control.







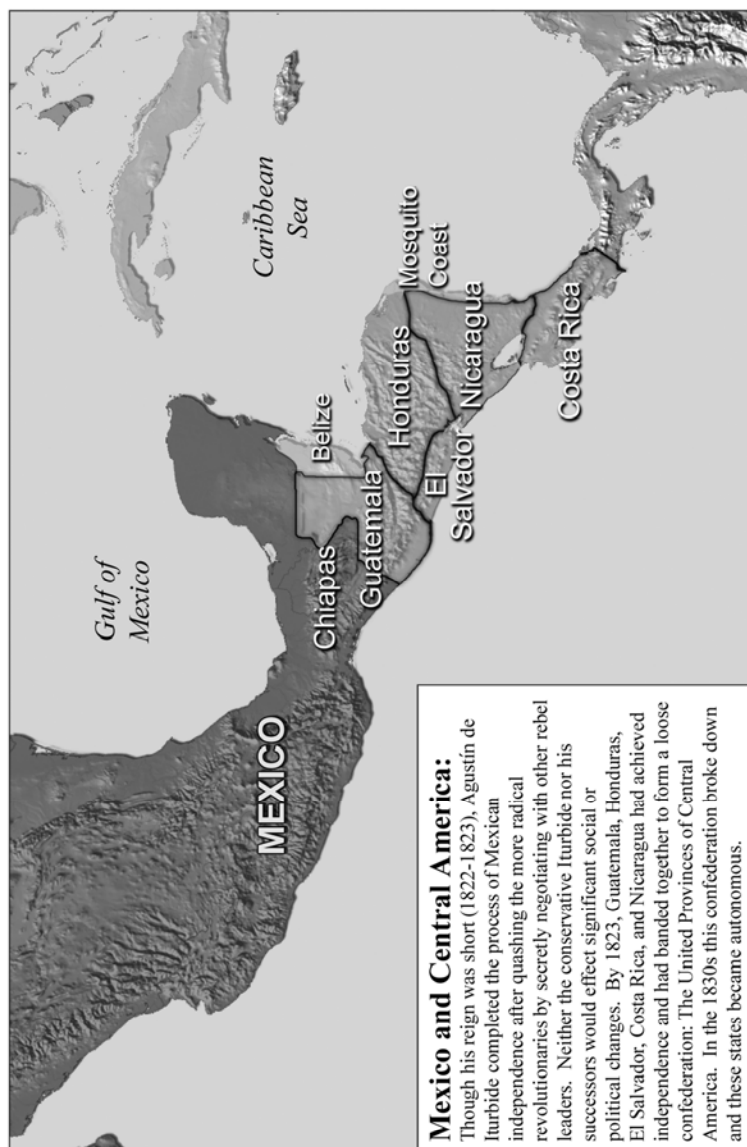
Argentina and Chilean Independence:

The first hero of Argentinian independence was Santiago Liniers who successfully drove British invaders out of Buenos Aires in 1807. The local *junta* expelled the feckless viceroy in 1810, but formal independence was not declared until 1816, and true unification of the interior with Buenos Aires came later still. Meanwhile, in Chile, local elites formed their own *junta* in 1810. In 1813, alarmed at these stirrings towards independence, the Spanish sent troops to Chile, landing south of Santiago. After an early rebel defeat, Bernardo O'Higgins fled to Mendoza and trained with José de San Martín. In 1817 the rebels headed north to take the province of Coquimbo, south to cut off royal troops from Concepción, then converged on Chacabuco, meeting San Martín's army, who had just crossed the Andes passes on the way to the Chacabuco triumph in February, 1817. The final rebel victory came at Maipó in April, 1818.



The Liberation of Peru:

San Martín retired from the scene after meeting with Bolívar in Guayaquil, and Bolívar turned to liberating the last remaining viceroyalty in South America, the Viceroyalty of Peru, as well as the northern remnant of the old Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, called Upper Peru. In one last march across the Andes, he and Sucre won battles at Junín and Ayacucho in 1824 to complete the liberation of the old viceroyalty, then liberated Upper Peru, which would become Bolivia, with victories at La Paz and Potosí in 1825. The liberation of Spanish South America was now complete.





Independent American States, 1850

Timeline

1700	Bourbons replace Hapsburgs as royal family in Spain.
1763	French and Indian (Seven Years') War ends; westward migration in 13 colonies banned.
1764	English Parliament passes Sugar Act.
1765	English Parliament passes Stamp Act.
1766	Stamp Act repealed.
1767	English Parliament passes Townshend Acts.
1768	British troops sent to Boston.
March 5, 1770.....	Boston Massacre.
December 16, 1773.....	Boston Tea Party.
1774	First Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia.
April 18, 1775.....	Paul Revere's ride.
April 19, 1775.....	Battles of Lexington and Concord.
May 10, 1775.....	Second Continental Congress convenes.
June 17, 1775.....	Battle of Bunker Hill.
January 1776.....	Thomas Paine publishes <i>Common Sense</i> .
July 4, 1776	Continental Congress approves Declaration of Independence.
August 27, 1776	British occupy New York City.
December 25–26, 1776.....	Washington crosses the Delaware River; Battle of Trenton.
January 3, 1777.....	Battle of Princeton.
September 11, 1777	Battle of Brandywine.
October 1777	Washington takes army to Valley Forge for the winter.
October 17, 1777	British defeated at Saratoga.
November 15, 1777	Congress approves Articles of Confederation.
1778	France and the United States form an alliance.
1778	Decree of "Free Trade" allows opening of more ports in Spanish America and Spain to trade.
May 12, 1780.....	British capture Charleston, South Carolina.
1780–1781	Rebellion of Tupac Amaru in Peru.
January 17, 1781.....	Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina.
March 1, 1781.....	Articles of Confederation ratified.
October 19, 1781	Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown.
1783	British and Americans sign peace treaty in Paris.
1787	Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia drafts a constitution for the new nation.
1788	All states ratify the Constitution except Rhode Island and North Carolina.

March 4, 1789.....	First U.S. Congress convenes in New York City.
April 30, 1789.....	George Washington sworn in as first president of the United States.
July 14, 1789	French Revolution begins with the storming of the Bastille.
1789	Minas conspiracy in Brazil.
1791	Bill of Rights (first 10 amendments to the Constitution) adopted.
1791	Slave rebellion erupts in Saint Domingue.
1799	Napoleon emerges as a power in France.
January 1, 1804.....	Haiti becomes an independent nation.
1806	Miranda makes failed attempt to liberate Venezuela; British invasion of Buenos Aires.
1807	Napoleon invades Portugal, and Braganzas flee to Brazil.
1808	Napoleon imprisons Spanish king and crown prince, taking control of Spain; Brazilian ports opened to world trade; Central Junta formed in Seville to oppose French.
January 1810.....	Regency replaces Central Junta in Spain.
April 1810.....	Venezuelan junta deposes royal authority.
May 1810.....	Junta takes over from viceroy in Argentina.
July 1810	Juntas take power in Paraguay and Colombia.
September 1810.....	Hidalgo leads revolt in Mexico; junta organizes government in Chile.
1811	Venezuelan congress declares independence; United Provinces of New Granada founded; Hidalgo captured and executed in Mexico.
1812	Spanish constitution takes effect; Spanish forces defeat rebels in Venezuela.
1813	British and Spanish forces drive French from Spain.
1814	Fernando VII restored to Spanish throne.
1815	Morelos captured and executed in Mexico; Bolívar writes Jamaica Letter.
1816	Congress of Tucumán declares Argentine independence.
1818	San Martín and O'Higgins defeat Spanish forces in Chile.
1819	Bolívar wins battle of Boyacá.
1820	Liberal revolts in Spain and Portugal create constitutional monarchies.
April 1821.....	João VI returns to Portugal from Brazil.
July 1821	San Martín seizes Lima.
August 1821	Mexico achieves independence under Iturbide.
July 1822	Bolívar establishes Gran Colombia.
September 1822.....	Pedro declares Brazilian independence.
1823	Portuguese expelled from Brazil; Central America separates from Mexico.
1824	Battle of Ayacucho liberates Peru.
1825	Sucre liberates Bolivia.
1828	Uruguay becomes an independent nation.

- 1830..... Death of Bolívar; Gran Colombia fragments into Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela.
- 1831..... Pedro I of Brazil abdicates.
- 1838..... United Provinces of Central America fragments into Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Glossary

Articles of Confederation: Document produced by the Continental Congress in 1777 as the charter setting out the relationship of the 13 colonies as parts of a new nation.

Ayacucho: Last major battle in the wars for independence in Spanish America, where José Antonio Sucre defeated the royalist forces in southern Peru.

Boston Massacre: Killing of American colonists when British troops opened fire on a crowd in Boston on March 5, 1770.

Boston Tea Party: On December 16, 1773, a group of colonists dressed as Indians toss tea from ships into Boston Harbor to protest British taxes.

Bourbon dynasty: Royal family in Spain, beginning with the War of Spanish Succession (1700–1714) and continuing to the present.

Braganza dynasty: Ruling family of Portugal, beginning in 1640, and in the Brazilian Empire (1822–1889).

cabildo: Town council in Spanish American cities.

Conservatives: Political party found in much of Latin America in the aftermath of independence whose members supported the authority of the Catholic Church, strong governments, a traditional social structure, and government intervention in the economy.

cortes: The name for the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments.

Creoles: Descendants of Spaniards born in the Americas.

Enlightenment: Cultural, intellectual, and philosophical movement in the 18th-century Atlantic world characterized by a strong belief in the power of reason and science and a mistrust of authority, hierarchy, monarchy, and the power of the Catholic Church.

French Revolution: Ten years of political upheaval in France (1789–1799) that ushered in the politics of the modern world, in particular, the beliefs in individual liberty, equality before the law, and the superiority of a republic over a monarchy.

gens de couleur: Literally, “people of color,” a term used in Saint Domingue in the 18th century to refer to those who were neither slaves nor whites.

grands blancs: Literally, “big whites,” a term used in Saint Domingue in the 18th century to refer to the upper crust of white society.

Grito de Dolores: Miguel Hidalgo’s call for independence in Mexico in 1810, considered to be the most important symbolic moment of rupture with Spain in the struggle for independence.

Grito de Ipiranga: Pedro I’s call for independence in Brazil on September 7, 1822, and the equivalent of the Fourth of July for Brazilians.

Hapsburg dynasty: Ruling family in Spain and the Spanish Empire (1516–1700).

Industrial Revolution: Social and economic transformation, beginning in England in the 1760s, that involved the technological shift from power produced by animal and vegetal matter to the use of minerals (especially coal), steam engines, and a factory system, resulting in sustained economic growth and continually rising income.

Jesuits: Extremely influential and powerful male religious order in the Catholic Church formed by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in the 1530s to educate Catholics, fight Protestant heresy, and spread the word of God to peoples around the world.

juntas: Council of notables formed in Spanish American cities in the early 19th century to rule in the name of Fernando VII during his imprisonment in France.

Liberals: Political party found in much of Latin America in the aftermath of independence whose members were inspired by France, England, and the United States and who attempted to restrict the authority of the Catholic

Church, support decentralized governments, promote laissez-faire economics, and (in theory) encourage individual liberties and equality before the law.

llaneros: Horsemen from the plains of Venezuela who first fought, then supported the cause of Simón Bolívar in northern South America.

mestizo: Generic term in Spanish America for someone with mixed ancestry that included Indians and Europeans.

mulatto: Generic term in Spanish and Portuguese America for someone with mixed ancestry that included blacks and whites.

Peace of Tilsit: Treaty between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I of Russia in 1807 that allowed Napoleon to turn his attention toward Spain and Portugal in his final drive to dominate all of Europe from the Atlantic to Eastern Europe.

Peninsulars: Term in the Spanish Empire referring to Spaniards living in the Americas who were born in Spain.

petits blancs: Literally, “small whites,” a term used in Saint Domingue in the 18th century to refer to the segment of white society below the upper crust or *grands blancs*.

Plan de Iguala: Plan proclaimed by Agustín Iturbide declaring his vision of Mexican independence in 1821.

revolution: A fundamental restructuring of the social, economic, or political system of a nation or region.

salutary neglect: Period in the first half of the 18th century in British North America when the colonies were relatively free of intervention by British authorities.

Scientific Revolution: Series of fundamental discoveries and publications from the mid-16th century to the mid-17th century that saw the emergence of what we now call modern science and the scientific method.

Seven Years' War: War fought between France and England on several continents between 1756–1763, also known as the French and Indian War in North America.

Stamp Act: Unpopular law passed by British Parliament in 1765 to impose new taxes on American colonists.

Sugar Act: Unpopular law passed by British Parliament in 1764, imposing new taxes on sugar.

Townshend duties: Series of unpopular taxes imposed on American colonists by British Parliament in 1767.

wars for independence: Rebellions against colonial rulers to establish independent nations.

Biographical Notes

Adams, John (1735–1826). Second president of the United States and a key figure in the independence movement from Massachusetts.

Alexander I (1777–1825). Tsar of the Russian Empire in the early 19th century, who signed the Peace of Tilsit, then had to repel Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812.

Beresford, William (1768–1854). English soldier and diplomat who played a key role in Portugal and Brazil in the first two decades of the 19th century.

Bolívar, Simón (1783–1830). A Venezuelan and the greatest figure of the Spanish American wars for independence.

Bonaparte, Napoleon (1769–1821). Emperor of France and the dominant political figure in European politics from 1799–1815.

Boukman (d. 1791). Voodoo priest who led the slave uprising in Saint Domingue in 1791.

Braganza, João VI (d. 1826). Crown prince, then king of Portugal, who ruled the empire from Brazil (1808–1821).

Braganza, Pedro I (1798–1834). Crown prince of Portugal who declared Brazilian independence in 1822, then became the emperor of Brazil.

Braganza, Pedro II (1825–1891). Son of Pedro I and the emperor of Brazil (1840–1889).

Bustamante, José de (1759–1825). Major figure in the war for independence in Mexico.

Carlos II (1665–1700). Last Hapsburg king of Spain, also known as the “Bewitched”.

Carlos IV (1788–1808). King of Spain, deposed by Napoleon in 1808.

Christophe, Henri (1767–1820). Major figure in the struggle for Haitian independence and emperor (1804–1820).

Cochrane, Thomas, Earl of Dundonald (1775–1860). British naval mercenary who played a key role in the independence of Brazil, Chile, and Peru.

Columbus, Christopher (1451?–1506). Better known as Cristóbal Colón, the Genoese adventurer who led the first known expedition from the Old World to reach the Americas and return (1492–1493).

Cornwallis, Charles (1738–1805). Commander of British troops during the American Revolution.

Dessalines, Jean-Jacques (1758–1806). Key leader and general in the war for Haitian independence.

Felipe IV (1621–1665). Hapsburg king of Spain during the era of imperial decline.

Fernando VII (1784–1833). King of Spain who was imprisoned by Napoleon in 1808 but returned to power in 1814.

Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez de (1766–1840). Dictator of Paraguay for nearly 30 years in the early 19th century.

Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790). One of the founding fathers of the United States and a key figure in negotiating recognition of independence by European powers.

Guerrero, Vicente (1783–1831). Major figure in the war for Mexican independence.

Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel (1753–1811). Considered by many to be the founding father of the Mexican nation with his call for independence in 1810.

Iturbide, Agustín de (1783–1824). Mexican general who took the lead in the final stages of the war for independence and served briefly as emperor of the Mexican Empire.

Jay, John (1745–1829). Another one of the founding fathers of the United States.

Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826). Third president of the United States, author of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the most important of the founding fathers.

Leclerc, General Charles (1772-1802). Brother-in-law of Napoleon and commander of the French army that invaded Saint Domingue in an effort to regain control of the French colony.

Liniers, Santiago (1753-1810). One of the earliest military leaders of the independence movement in Argentina.

L'Ouverture, Toussaint (1743–1803). The greatest figure of the Haitian Revolution.

Miranda, Francisco de (1750–1816). Known as the Precursor, this Venezuelan was one of the earliest to organize the movement for independence in northern Spanish America.

Morelos, José María (1765-1815). Catholic priest who, along with Hidalgo, led the first wave of the struggle for Mexican independence.

Moreno, Mariano (1778–1811). Early leader and intellectual in the Argentine struggle for independence.

Nariño, Antonio (1765-1823). Very early critic of Spanish rule in northern South America and the publisher of a Spanish translation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen.

O'Higgins, Bernardo (1778–1842). Illegitimate son of the Irish viceroy of Peru, he became the great hero of Chilean independence.

Páez, José Antonio (1790-1873). Leader of the *llaneros* in Venezuela and a key ally of Simón Bolívar in the liberation of northern South America.

Pumacahua (d. 1815). Leader of an Indian uprising in Peru who was executed when captured in 1815.

Rigaud, André (1761-1811). Key leader in the Haitian Revolution.

Rodríguez, Simón (1769-1854). Tutor and mentor to Simón Bolívar.

San Martín, José de (1778–1850). Greatest figure in the liberation of southern South America, also known as the Protector.

Santander, Francisco de Paula (1792-1840). Major figure in the liberation of Colombia and one of its first presidents.

Sucre, José Antonio de (1795-1830). One of Simón Bolívar's most important generals and the victor in the battle of Ayacucho in 1824.

Virgin of Guadalupe. Patron saint of Mexico and a key symbol of the struggle for Mexican independence.

Washington, George (1732–1799). Greatest of the founding fathers in the United States, commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army, and first president.

Wellesley, Arthur, Duke of Wellington (1769–1852). Key figure in the Anglo-Portuguese forces fighting Napoleon on the Iberian Peninsula and the victor over Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo.

Bibliography

Essential Reading:

- Countryman, Edward. *The American Revolution*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2003. Excellent new synthetic survey.
- Harvey, Robert. *"A Few Bloody Noses": The Realities and Mythologies of the American Revolution*. New York: Woodstock & Overlook Press, 2001. A lively, very new account of the American Revolution from the perspective of an English historian.
- . *Liberators: Latin America's Struggle for Independence, 1810–1830*. Woodstock & New York: Overlook Press, 2000. Excellent traditional narrative history of the subject; full of wonderful anecdotes, with a focus on the key liberators.
- Langley, Lester D. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996. The best comparative study of the topic by a leading historian of U.S.-Latin American relations.
- Wood, Gordon S. *The American Revolution: A History*. New York: Modern Library, 2002. An excellent and up-to-date brief synthesis with a fine bibliography.

Supplementary Reading:

- Anna, Timothy. *The Fall of Royal Government in Mexico*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. Detailed scholarly treatment of the end of Spanish colonial rule in Mexico.
- . *The Fall of Royal Government in Peru*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. A companion volume to his book on Mexico.
- Barman, Roderick. *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. Very good, detailed history emphasizing political history.
- Bergamini, John D. *The Spanish Bourbons: The History of a Tenacious Dynasty*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974. Lively history full of wonderful anecdotes and descriptions.
- Bethell, Leslie, ed. *The Independence of Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Series of scholarly essays by the leading historians of the subject, with very detailed bibliographic essays.
- , ed. *The Independence of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Despite the title, this is the companion volume to the one on Brazil, and it covers Spanish America.
- Bolívar, Simón. *The Hope of the Universe*. J. L. Salcedo-Bastardo, ed. Paris: UNESCO, 1983. Excellent selections of the writings of the Liberator.
- Bushnell, David, and Neill Macaulay. *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. An excellent survey.
- Butler, Jon. *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000. Fine study of the transformation of British North America before the revolution.
- Collier, Simon. *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808–33*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967. Scholarly volume that is the best survey in English of the political and ideological shifts of the movement for independence in Chile.
- Dominguez, Jorge I. *Insurrection or Loyalty: The Breakdown of the Spanish American Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980. Volume by an eminent political scientist interested in the comparative processes of the wars for independence.
- Eakin, Marshall C. *Conquest of the Americas*. Chantilly, VA: The Teaching Company, 2002. Sweeping survey of the first two centuries of colonial rule in the Americas. Companion course to this one.
- Ellis, Joseph. *Founding Fathers: The Revolutionary Generation*. New York: Vintage, 2002. Prizewinning collective view of the key figures in the American Revolution. Highly recommended.
- Ferling, John. *A Leap in the Dark: The Struggle to Create the American Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. New and lively account with lots of information on personalities and key figures.
- Fick, Carolyn E. *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990. One of the best surveys of the Haitian Revolution.

García Márquez, Gabriel. *The General in His Labyrinth*. Edith Grossman, trans. New York: Knopf, 1990. Fascinating novel by one of Latin America's greatest writers.

Graham, Richard. *Independence in Latin America: A Comparative Approach*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 1994. The best short synthetic survey of the wars for independence in Latin America.

Grimble, Ian. *The Sea Wolf*. London: Blond and Briggs, 1978. Biography of Thomas Cochrane.

Hamshire, Cyril. *The British in the Caribbean*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972. Good overview of the British in the Caribbean, from the period of early colonization to the 20th century.

Hobsbawm, E. J. *The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996. Excellent synthesis of the period, focusing on Europe, by one of the great historians of the 20th century.

James, C. L. R. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. 2nd ed. New York: Knopf, 1963. A classic study originally written in the 1930s.

Kinsbruner, Jay. *The Spanish American Revolutions*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997. Very good survey emphasizing the revolutionary nature of the wars for independence.

Knight, Franklin W. *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. The best general history of a diverse region.

Lynch, John. *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826*. New York: Norton, 1973. Very good synthesis that emphasizes politics and military history.

Macaulay, Neill. *Dom Pedro: The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1986. The best study in English of Pedro I and the process of independence in Brazil.

Maier, Pauline. *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997. The best single volume on the writing of this key document.

Masur, Gerhard. *Simon Bolivar*. 2nd ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969. The standard biography of the Liberator in English.

McCullough, David. *John Adams*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001. Fine biography by one of America's best and most readable historians.

McFarlane, Anthony. *The British in the Americas, 1480–1815*. London: Longman, 1992. Very fine synthesis.

Paine, Thomas. *Common Sense and Other Writings*. Edited and with an introduction by Gordon S. Wood. New York: Modern Library, 2003. Excellent recent compilation of the key works of this central figure in the age of revolution.

Palmer, R. R. *The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800*. 2 v. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959–64. The standard, but now somewhat dated, survey of the age of revolution, focusing on the United States and Europe.

Racine, Karen. *Francisco de Miranda*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001. The best biography of Miranda in English.

Rodriguez, Mario. *The Cádiz Experiment in Central America, 1808 to 1826*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. The best treatment of the process of independence in Central America in English.

Schama, Simon. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. New York: Knopf, 1989. Prizewinning bestseller by one of the major historians of the Anglo-American world today.

Van Young, Eric. *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810–1821*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. Dense scholarly study that delves with great sensitivity into the complex process of independence in Mexico.

White, Richard. *Paraguay's Autonomous Revolution*. New York: Norton, 1976. Provocative reinterpretation of early-19th-century Paraguay that is sympathetic to Francia.

Wills, Garry. *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment*. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1984. Thoughtful and well written study by one of the most interesting historians and political commentators in the United States.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. Classic study by the most well-known historian of the subject.

———. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1992. Controversial and provocative study that emphasizes the revolutionary, transformative nature of the war for independence in the United States.

